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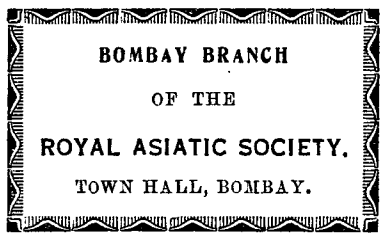

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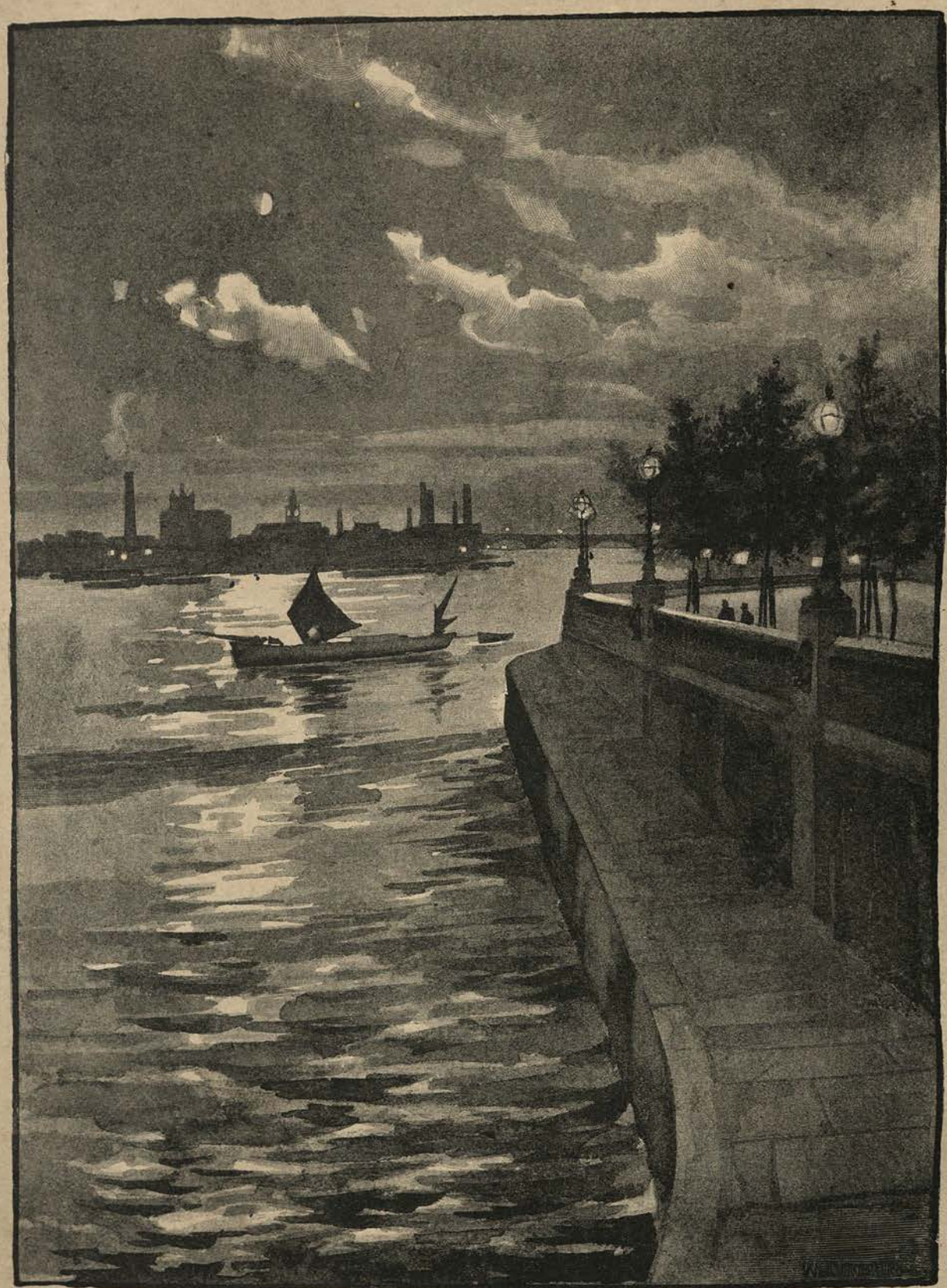

WESTMINSTER FROM BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE—NIGHT

LONDON CITY

Its History—Streets—Traffic Buildings—People

BY

W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A.

ILLUSTRATED BY

W. LUKER, JR.

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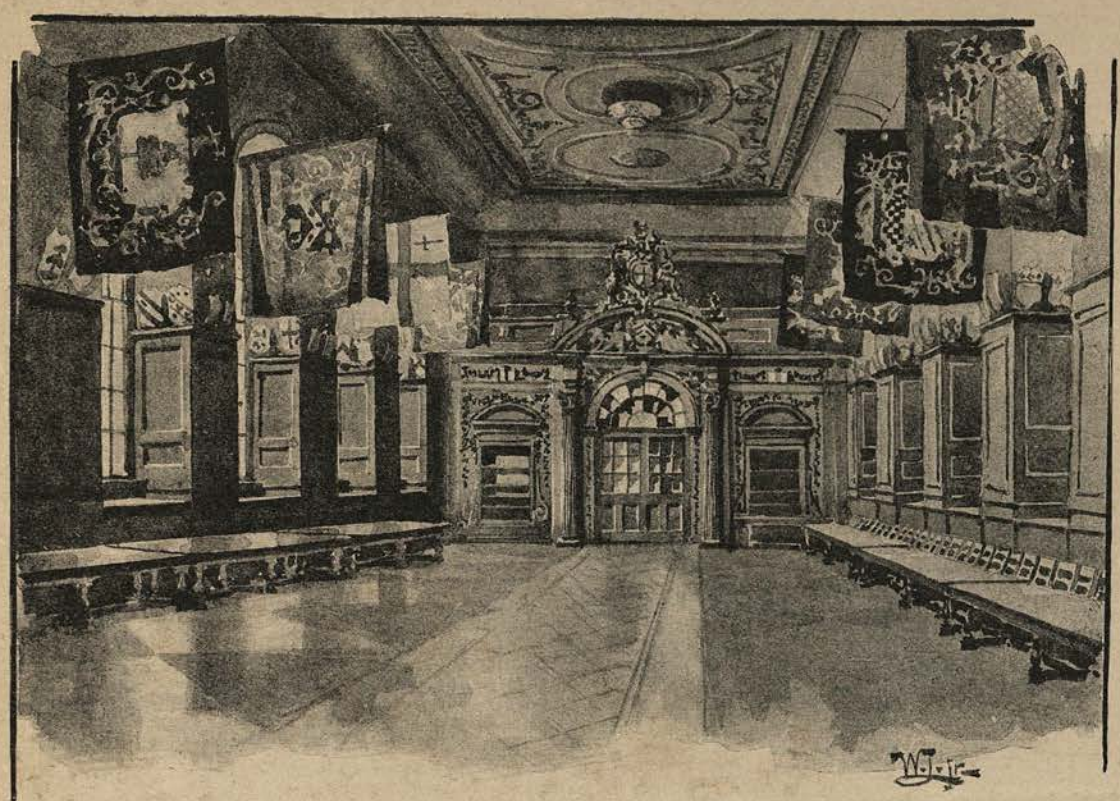

STATIONERS' HALL

PREFACE

THESE chapters form a series of sketches, each of which is complete in itself. In compiling them I have been obliged continually to go over ground already occupied by myself or others. I have endeavoured, nevertheless, to include the results of the latest researches and discoveries; and although it is not easy to say anything absolutely new about such a well-worn theme, I hope I have been able to put some facts in a new light, and to strengthen the position of others which may hitherto have appeared obscure.

W. J. L.

CITY CLUB, OLD BROAD STREET

COMMERCIAL SALE ROOMS, MINCING LANE

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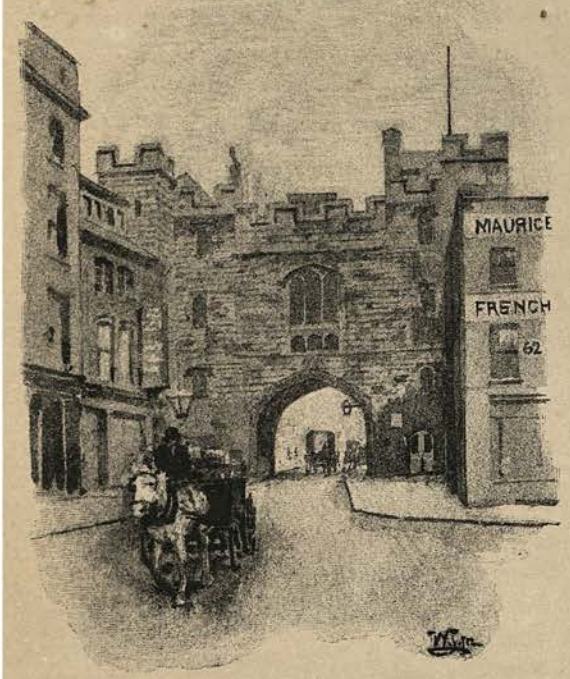

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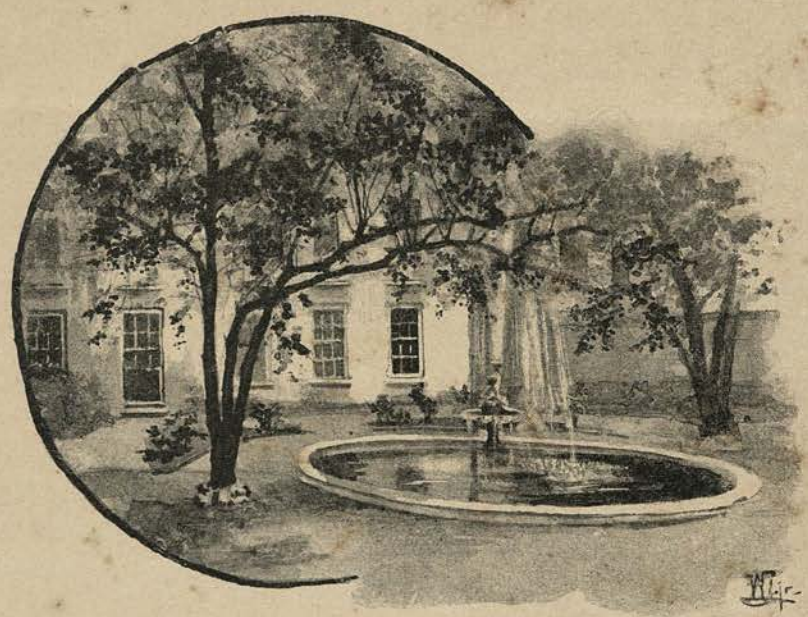


OLD GARDEN AT NO. 4 CROSBY SQUARE

LUDGATE HILL ON A WINTER'S MORNING

GREAT TOWER STREET

CHAPTER I—ORIGIN OF THE CITY

Some curious old Fables—Billingsgate, Cripplegate, Ludgate—Story of Brutus—King Bledhud's Flight—King Lear—Brennus—Belinus—King Lud—Good King Cole—St. Helen—St. Lucius—Guest's Opinion—A few Facts—The Medieval Chronicles—Aulus Plautius—Constantine—The Wall—Augusta—Roman Remains—Modern Theories—Alfred the Great.

EVERY one who has endeavoured to make a serious study of London history has been struck by the same fact:—in order to attain any information he has to read an immense quantity of what is either

ALDGATE PUMP

pure fiction or pure conjecture. As a result, many competent historical writers have declined to meddle with the subject; and so the legend-makers and theorisers have been left undisturbed. Within the past few years, however, some attempts have been made to put the history of London on a scientific base, the great Dr. Guest being one of the pioneers of the movement. In nine out of ten books, however, we still see the same old stories and the same old topographical mistakes appearing year after year. We learn that Ludgate was the chief entrance of Roman London, and was called after King Lud; that Billingsgate was called after King Belin, the only doubt being as to which King Belin, as there were several monarchs of that name; that Julius Cæsar had something to do with the foundation of the Tower; that Helena, the mother of Constantine, first built the wall; and that, finally, Aldgate was the oldest of the city gates. We do not, it is true, often hear nowadays of Troy novant, but King Lucius is still gravely spoken of as the founder of St. Peter's, Cornhill,

OLD LONDON STONE IN CANNON STREET

LUDGATE CIRCUS

MIDDAY SNACK—BAKER'S CHOP HOUSE, CHANGE ALLEY, CORNHILL

and no less an authority than Dean Milman believed that St. Paul's was originally built on the site of a temple of Diana.

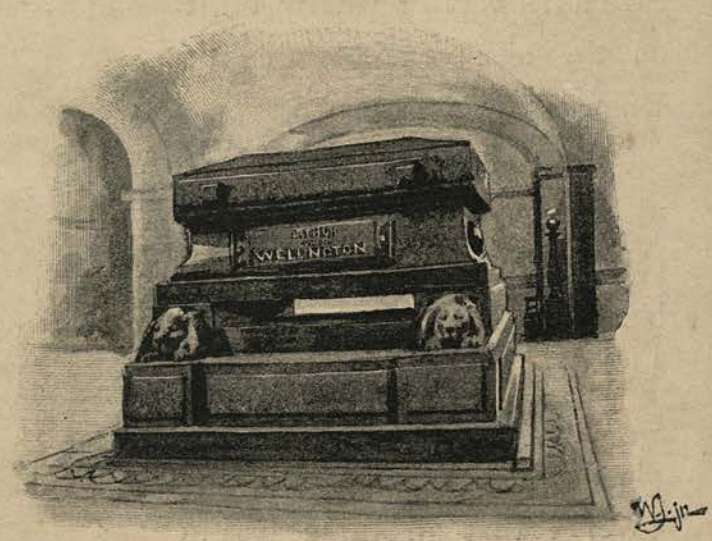
It is only of late years that distinct proof of the fictitious character of these legends has been forthcoming. Aldgate, Ludgate, and Cripplegate, for example, were names that completely puzzled me until I discovered that all three had a

IN CHANGE ALLEY, CORNHILL

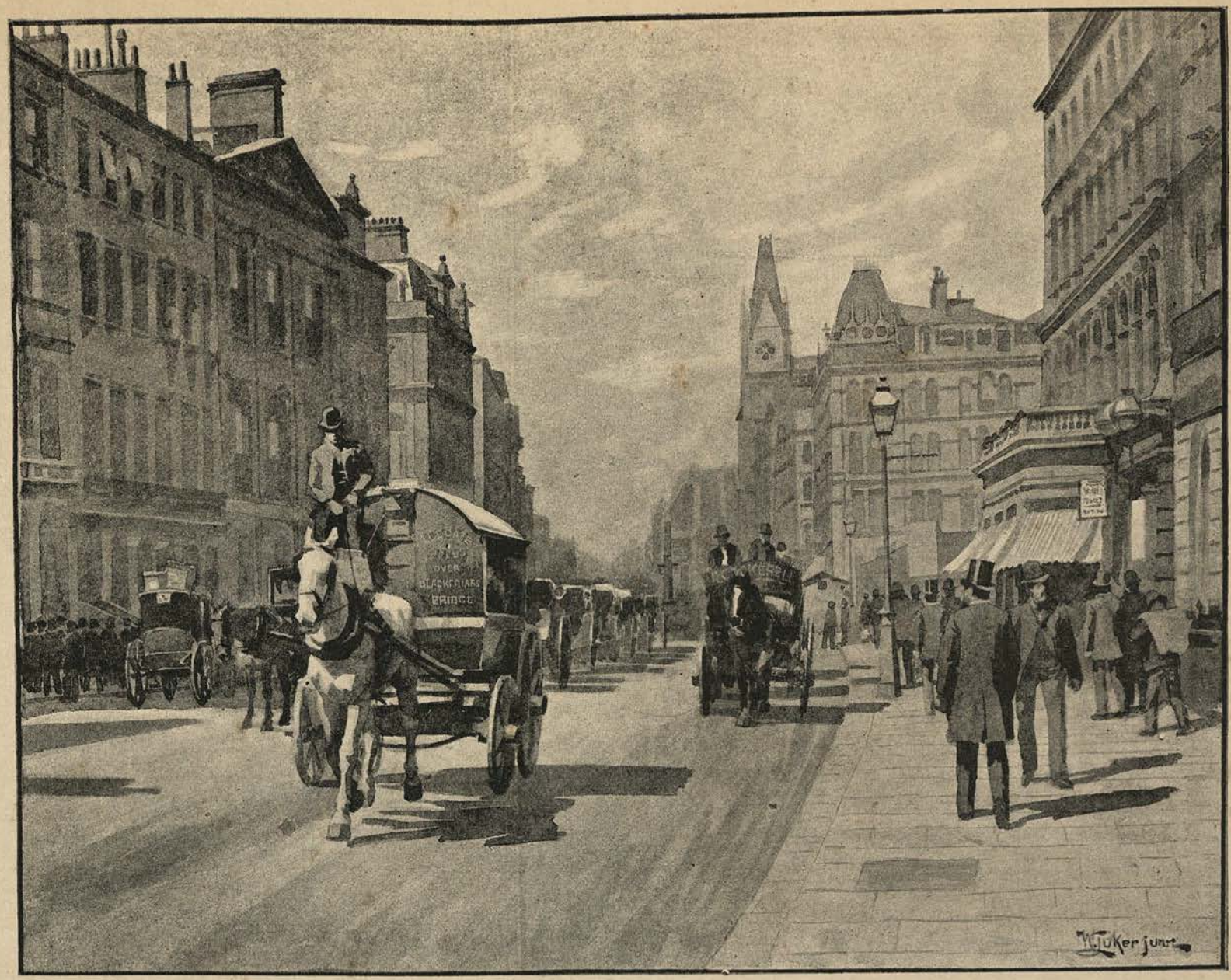
PILGRIM STREET, LUDGATE CIRCUS

special meaning in the older English or Anglo-Saxon tongue. Stukeley, a very judicious antiquary in his day, wrote Aldgate *Ealdgate*, which in modern English is simply Oldgate. When, however, we look into the early documents which have of late years been revealed, the puzzle ceases to perplex any one who is willing to be undeceived. The difficulty, to my mind at least, was this: Aldgate cannot be Oldgate because we know it was opened only in the reign of Henry I, and must therefore be reckoned among the newer entrances of the city. But when we look into ancient documents we find that it is not spelled Ealdgate or Oldgate or Aldgate, but either Algate or Alegate—a gate that is open to all. The good canons of the Holy Trinity, who first made it, threw it open without toll to every one.

Cripplegate, again, is a name over which conjecture has been very busy. Stow, for example—and he has been followed by nearly all subsequent writers—calls it "of cripples begging there." Cunningham apparently accepted this derivation in his famous *Handbook* (1849), and it occurs in



THE WELLINGTON MONUMENT



NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS

HOLBORN VIADUCT

many subsequent works. But some years have elapsed since Mr. Denton showed that a "crepel gate" is a covered way in a fortification, and that another is to be found on the Wansdyke, the great Wiltshire line of defence.

So, too, with Ludgate. It is pretty evident that Ludgate was not opened until some time in the twelfth century, and in any case cannot have been a Roman, still less an ancient British entrance. But where, then, did it get its name? Stow, though in doubt about King Lud, supposed this to be one of the most ancient of the city gates, and gives the derivation according to Geoffrey of Monmouth as being from King Lud, "a Briton, about the year before Christ's nativity 66." I was

OLD HOUSES IN GREAT ST. HELEN'S

long of opinion that when the gate was opened it was called by the citizens after King Lud, whose legendary history was just then be- coming known. But a glance at Bosworth's, or any other, Anglo- Saxon Dictionary would have shown that Ludgate is good Old English for a postern, and occurs elsewhere in England as Lydgate.

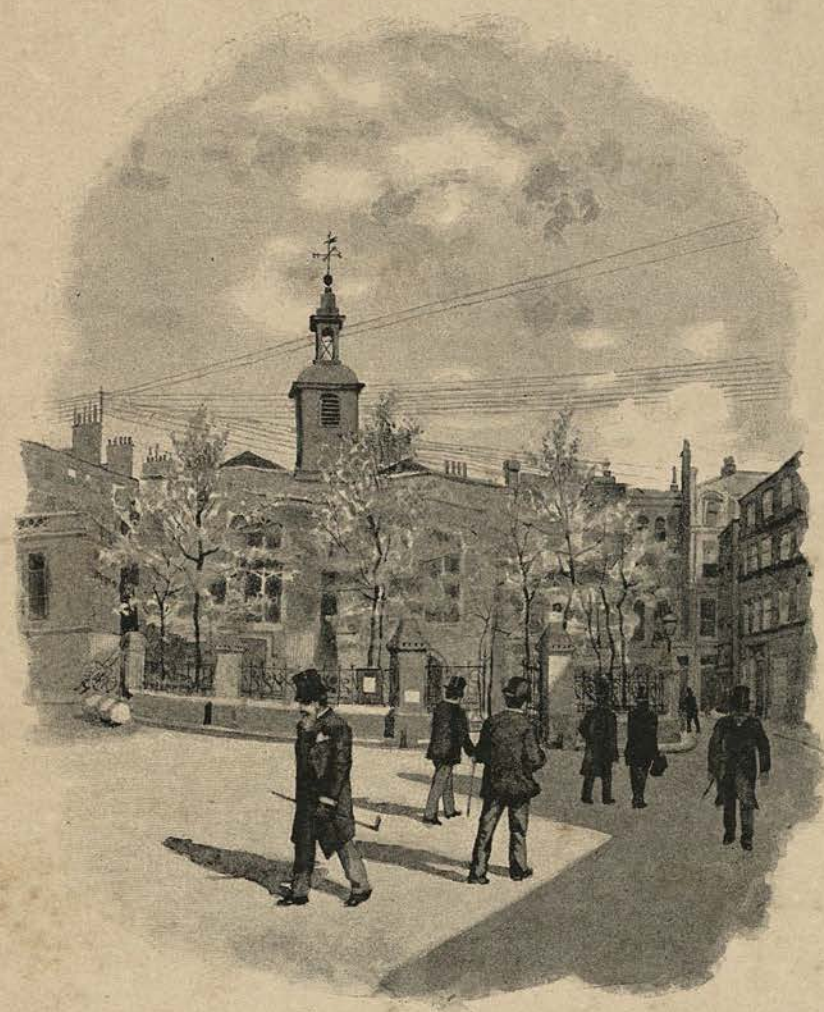
Before dismiss- ing Lud and his mythical family, it is well worth while to put be- fore the reader some of the tales in which our an- cestors so fully believed. Lon- don, so it was said, was built

GREAT ST. HELEN'S

ST. HELEN'S CHURCH, INTERIOR

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL FROM LUDGATE HILL

in 1108 B.C. by "Brute, lineally descended from the demigod Æneas, the son of Venus, daughter of Jupiter. Brute named it Troy novant, or Tre novant." George Owen Harry, whose famous *Genealogy of King James from Noah* was published in 1604, enlarges



GREAT ST. HELEN'S

upon this brief account. He tells us that Brutus, having unfortunately killed his father Silvius by the glancing of an arrow aimed at a deer, fled from Italy into Greece, where he married Inogen, the daughter of Pandrasus, king of that country, and obtaining by force from his father-in-law "furniture, money, victual, and shipping," sailed

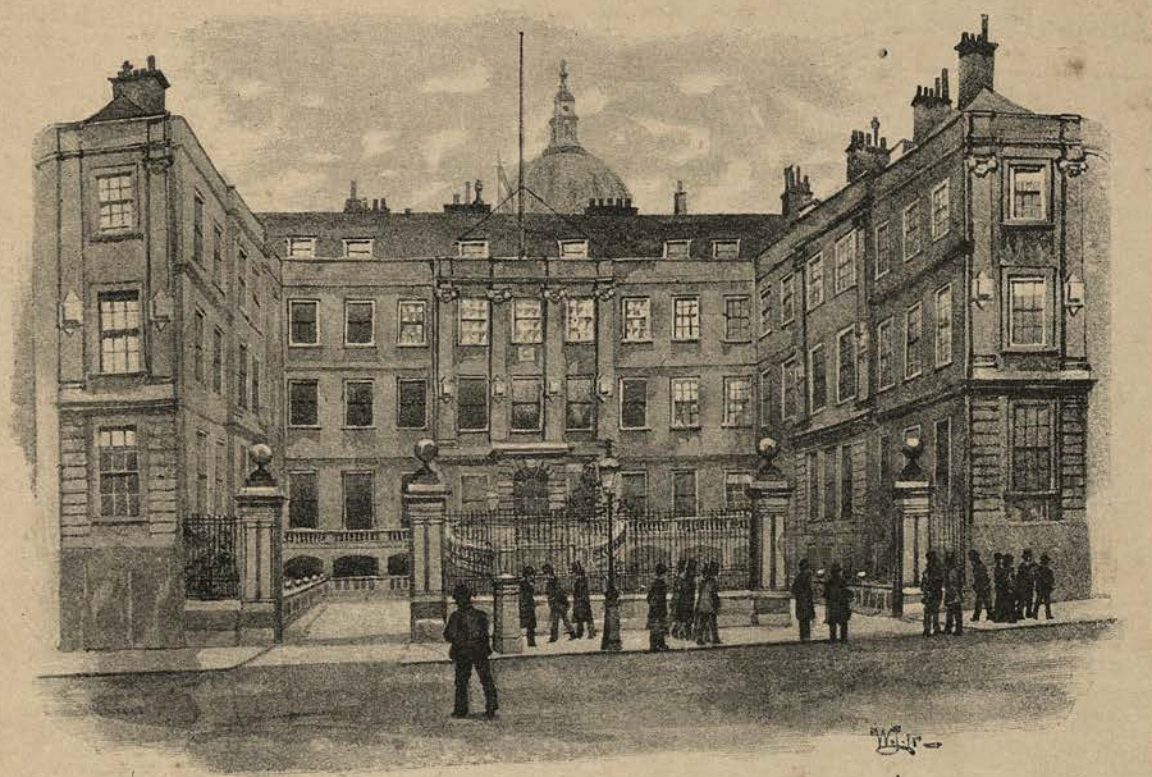
first for France, where he built Tours in Touraine in memory of his nephew, Turnus—they cherished the family names apparently—who was slain by the natives of those parts, and eventually came "to this Isle of Britain, which they found desolate, saving a few giants, which they in time vanquished." He built London, calling it "Troy Newydh"—we are not told how he came to know Welsh—and the whole island he named after himself "Brittaine." After a reign of twenty-four years he died, and was buried in London.

Against this story I have nothing to say. Geoffrey may have heard it, or he may have invented it, and Harry's improvements are not of much consequence. A Celtic village probably occupied some part of the site of Roman London to which it imparted its name, and there are said to be reasons for placing it on the right or western bank of the Wallbrook, near the modern Blackfriars, and to the eastward of it. Furthermore, it may be the fort of which Julius Cæsar speaks; but of this there is no kind of proof, and it is a piece of futile guess-work to try and localise his *civitas Trinobantum:* the more so as he never mentions Llyndin, or any other form of the Celtic name.

ST. PETER'S UPON CORNHILL

Harry next tells us about King Bledhud, the founder of Bath, who was

ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

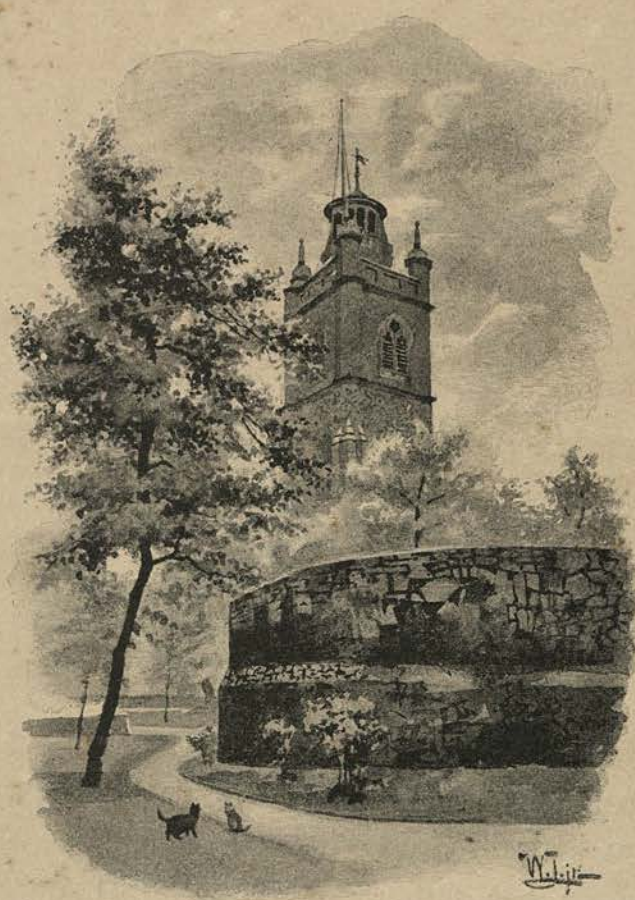


THE COLLEGE OF ARMS, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET

so skilful that he "made himself wings and flew: and as he would have lighted on the temple of Apollo, which he had builded in the city of Troy Newydd, he fell and brake his necke, when hee had reigned twenty yeares, and was there buried." Bledhud was the father of King Lhyr or Lear, who had three daughters, Gonorila, Ragan, and "Cordeila." Cordeila, after her father's death, reigned for five years, but her nephew, Kunedha, the son of Ragan, "levied warre" against her successfully, "and tooke her prisoner, where she for sorrow slue herself." Kunedha, after a reign of thirty years, died and was buried in "Newe Troy," as were also some of his descendants, and we come eventually to Beli, or Belinus, of whom there is more to be said. He was brother to Bran, or Brennus, the great Gaul who besieged and took Rome, or, as Master Harry

puts it, he, "going to Rome, wanne the city." Belinus built "Belinesgate in London, where his ashes were hanged in brasse, after the Pagan manner, after he died, and had reigned twenty-six whole years." Billingsgate Market commemorates the name.

Many generations later we come to another Beli or Belinus, who reigned for sixty years, and at his death left three sons, of whom the eldest was Lludh, Lloyd, or Lud. He "renewed the walles of newe Troy, and called the city after his owne name, Caerlhudh, and builded there a gate, and called the same Ludisgate; and after hee had governed this land worthily eleven yeres, he dyed, and was buried at Caerludh, neere unto the gate which he had builded." His brother's name, Kaswalhawn, brings us to the threshold of authentic history if we identify him, as Harry does, with the Cassibelaunus of Cæsar's *Commentaries*.



OLD LONDON WALL

It is hardly worth while to pursue this apocryphal enumeration further; but we must pause for a moment at Coelgodebog, who is none other than the "Good King Cole" of the nursery rhyme, and who is identified by our veracious historian with the father of "Ellen," whom he gave in marriage to Constantine. "This Elen went to Jerusalem, and found the holy crosse, and brought it with her to Rome." To this Ellen, Elen, or Helena is usually ascribed the building of the

CANNON STREET

wall of London; but as Harry has already told us that it was built by King Lud, he does not now mention the circumstance again.

The intelligent reader will ask if there is any backbone of truth in all this Welsh tradition. I venture to think there is very little, if any. One London worthy may be identified with Lles of Harry's pages. I feel as if I could believe in King Lucius, if there was a single line of contemporary evidence about him, more easily than I can in Lud or Belin, or Coel "godebog," or even Elen. His legend may be found, like a fly in amber, embedded in one of Thackeray's *Roundabout Papers*. At Coire or Chur, in the Grisons, the great essayist is shown the monument of "that very ancient British King, Saint, and Martyr, Lucius, who founded the church of St. Peter on Cornhill." He describes the statue and goes on to say: "From what I may call his peculiar position with regard to Cornhill, I beheld this

THE GUILDHALL LIBRARY

figure of St. Lucius with more interest than I should have bestowed upon personages who, hierarchically, are, I daresay, his superiors." It will be remembered that 65 Cornhill, which was at that time the office of the *Cornhill Magazine*, in the first number of which this paper of Thackeray's was written to appear, is exactly opposite the church of St. Peter. Not very long ago the ecclesiastical authorities celebrated in this church the 1700th anniversary of the foundation. The exact place of Lucius in the story is disputed. According to some the church was founded in 179 A.D., after the death of Lucius, who, as Thackeray tells us, was stoned at Chur "on account of theological differences." Theanus, or Theonus, was the first archbishop of London, aided by Cyran, who had been chief butler to Lucius. Theanus was succeeded by a long line of archbishops before the coming of the heathen Saxons. It seems hardly worth while to refute such a tale as this. According to Harry, King Lles sent for Christian teachers to Pope Elutherius or Eleutherus. I am not going to stray into ecclesiastical history, and it will be sufficient here to have given the legend, and to have pointed out that Lles or Lucius is among the mythical predecessors of King Cole.

In dealing with these stories we may remember a few facts. There may have been a British *oppidum* on the hill above the Wallbrook before Aulus Plautius, in the autumn of the year 43 A.D., founded a Roman fort somewhere in the neighbourhood. The whole

NOVEMBER MOURNING!

THE TOWER OF LONDON FROM TRINITY SQUARE

evidence will be found in Dr. Guest's *Celtic Researches* (vol. ii. p. 405). This fort may well have been on the Southwark side of the Thames, until a bridge had been built, when a second fort would protect the northern end. We may be fairly certain, (1) if any king answering to Brutus built a city here, it was of no great size; (2) Billingsgate is a name of Saxon, not, like London, of Celtic origin, for Billing was more likely an English alderman than a British king; (3) in any case, the British city cannot have extended all the way from Billingsgate to Ludgate; nor (4) can Ludgate have been built by King Lud, nor yet the walls, for London was unwalled for many a century later, and, moreover, Ludgate is a good old English word for a postern; (5) the Empress Helena is by no means a mythical personage, but it is nearly certain that she was the daughter, not of a British king, but of an innkeeper in Nicomedia, as Gibbon has observed, and, except the very ambiguous evidence of some coins struck in London in her name, there is no proof known to exist

ST. GILES'S CHURCH, CRIPPLEGATE

that she ever visited England. It is even asserted on good authority that, so far from converting her son Constantine to Christianity, it was he who converted her.

We may be said to have come to authentic history with 43 A.D.; but we may well inquire why people in the middle ages should have been at the pains and trouble to make up all these stories. I have only quoted from Harry, but Holinshed's *Chronicle* is much fuller on the subject, and the stories may be found in Higden and in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and were eagerly received and believed. Perhaps Shakespeare believed them, perhaps not. He took *Cymbeline* from them, as well as *King Lear*, and his contemporary Spenser also gives us Lear's story. I think the reason these legends were so widely accepted is because they gave a plausible answer to questions which must have greatly puzzled our ancestors as they have puzzled us. True, we see no wall. The gates have disappeared for more than a century. But the Bridge, or its successor, is there, and we have the Tower, or what "restorers" have left of it. The chief question was no doubt as to the wall. The people of the twelfth century saw London girt with a mighty rampart, which, so far as their authentic history went, had never been forced. How came it there? Then, too, there was a bridge, and so far back as their annals or their traditions went, there always had been a bridge. How did the bridge come to

STOW'S MONUMENT IN ST. ANDREW'S UNDERSHAFT

THE TOWER OF LONDON FROM SOUTH SIDE OF RIVER

be there? It is a curious fact that, in spite of the tons of paper which have been covered with the records of discoveries and speculations about Roman London, we cannot answer these questions any more than could our ancestors of the twelfth century. I have put down the little that is known in my other books, and it will be sufficient here if I simply summarise the ascertained facts in brief chronological order. Aulus Plautius made a fort in 43. Eighteen years later, namely in 61, Suetonius found that Londinium, though a large place, was of no strategical importance, and abandoned it to the rebels under Boadicea. From this I infer that the bridge had not been built in 61. A little later the Romans made a bridge, and placed a strong fort or pretorium at the northern end to protect it. "London Stone" still marks, approximately, the site of the western entrance. More than two centuries passed during which the suburbs round the fort had grown very large, and in 296 they were plundered by the mercenaries of one of the numerous pretenders to the purple. It is evident therefore that the impregnable wall had not yet been built. Constantine was in Britain when he became Emperor, and soon afterwards the Roman Empire adopted Christianity. In 350 there was still no wall, though the houses and streets about the fort were more numerous than ever. In 369 we first hear of the existence of a wall. It was built

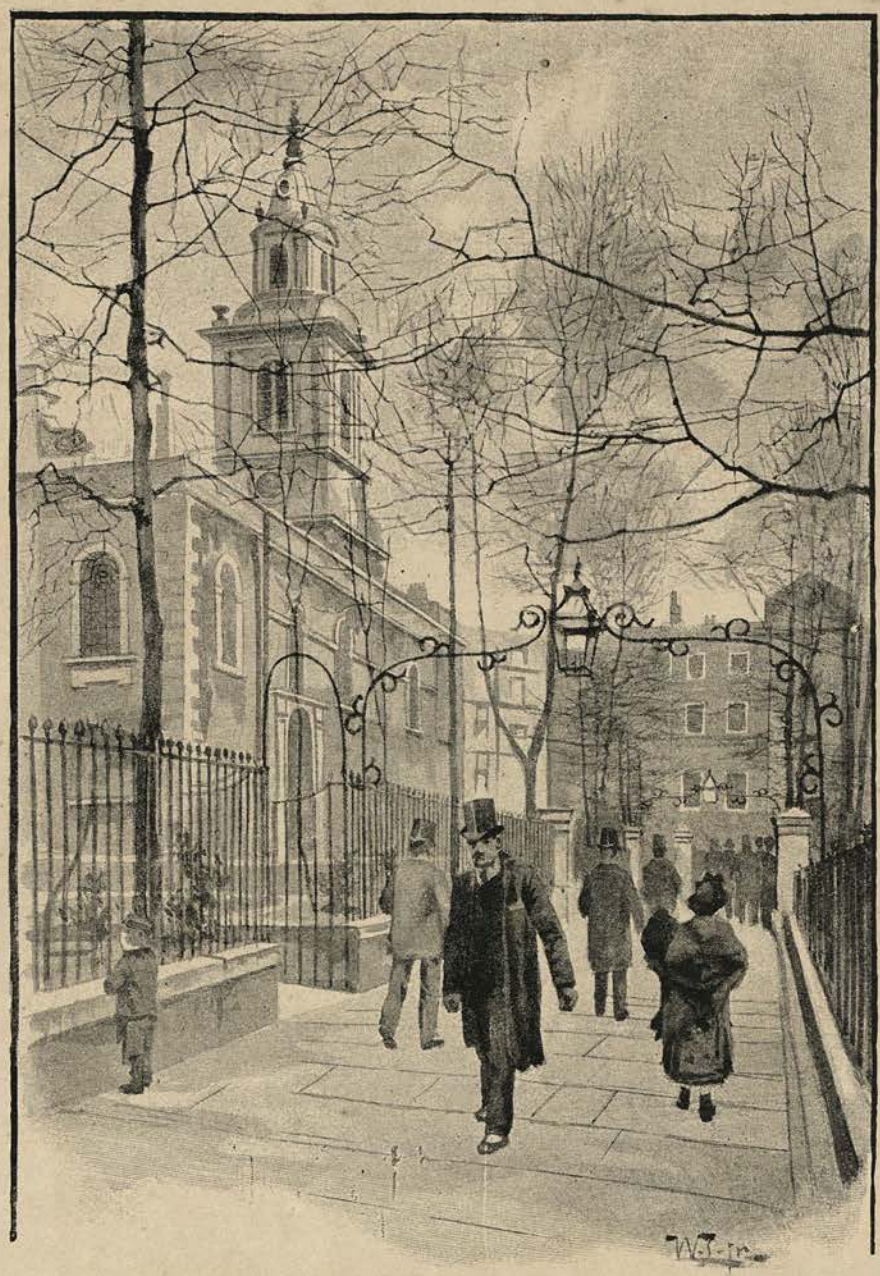
LAMP AND GLASS CLEANERS

round all the suburbs and took in some 380 acres; but there is no record of when or by whom it was built. The Picts and Scots were unable to break through it; and Theodosius, the Roman general, was joyfully received by the citizens at the gates. Further than this we cannot get; but it will be useful to remember that we must not expect to find any magnificent public buildings in the new city to which the name of Augusta was given by the Romans. The local resources were probably exhausted by the building of the wall. As to temples, we must remember that Augusta during the short period of its existence was a Christian city. We have found the remains of no churches, although Christianity was well established even before the building of the wall.

THE OLD CATHERINE WHEEL, BISHOPSGATE

The last thing we hear about Augusta, or London, is that when the heathen Saxons conquered Kent and marched northward the fugitive Britons took refuge for a time behind her walls. How long they held them, how they lost them, we know not. There is no mention of London between 457 and 604. At the latter date it had become the metropolis of the East Saxons. The East Saxons preferred the open fields of Essex to the confinement of the Roman walls whether of Colchester or of London; and it is very evident that for a long period no great store was set by them by either place. In one particular

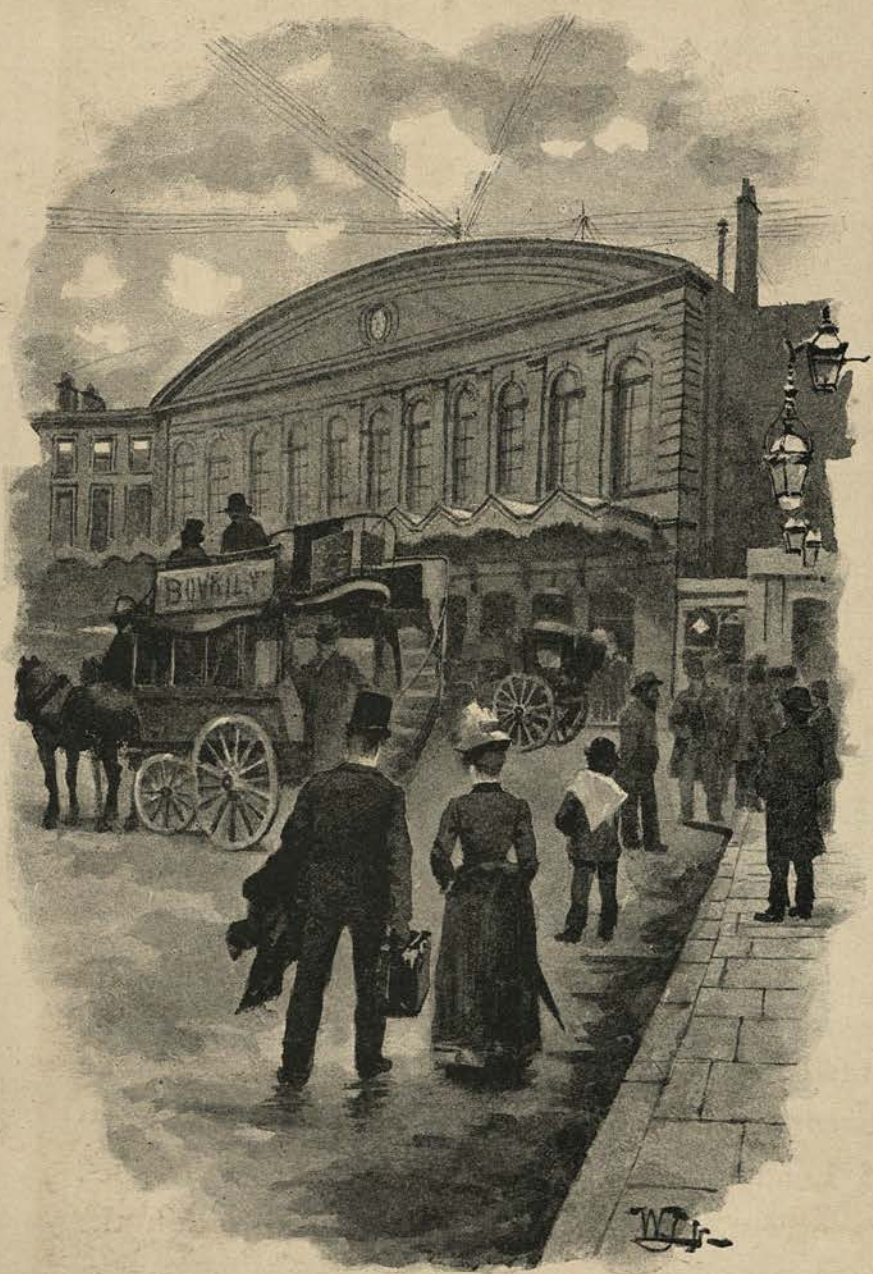
LONDON BRIDGE—UNEMPLOYED



ALDERMAN'S WALK, BISHOPSGATE STREET

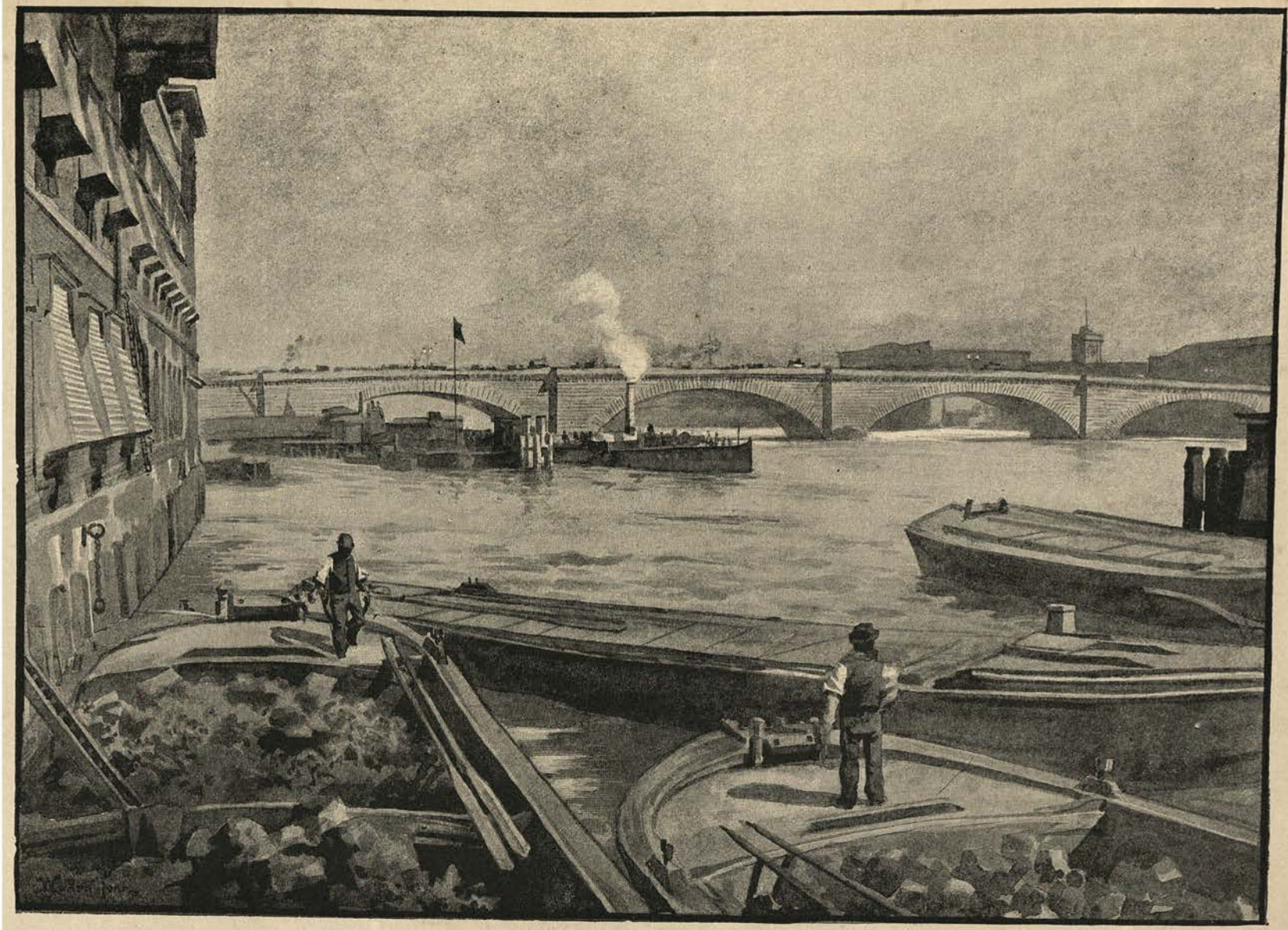
London retained a certain importance. Its situation made it very accessible for merchant ships. In those days a ship could leave London and sail almost to Dover without encountering any open sea. Dropping down the Thames with the ebb-tide, it entered the Wantsum at Reculvers, and emerged at Sandwich, if not at Richborough, whence, keeping within the sands, it had a smooth passage down to the South Foreland. Notwithstanding this mercantile importance of London, its defences were suffered to fall into decay, and the Danes repeatedly broke in and robbed the citizens. At length their depredations became too great to be borne, and London was abandoned, and, as Stow tells us, lay desolate from 839, except when the invaders camped within the

walls, until Alfred, seeing the great military value of the place, repaired the wall in 886, restored some at least of the buildings, made the place habitable, bestowed a form of government upon it, and, in short, founded the London that now is. There is reason to believe that, in strengthening and repairing the wall, he paid special attention to one or more of the bastions at the south-eastern corner, as being the most important for defence in case of an invader coming up the Thames, and that upon these buildings of his, William the Conqueror erected the Tower as we still see it.



FENCHURCH STREET RAILWAY STATION

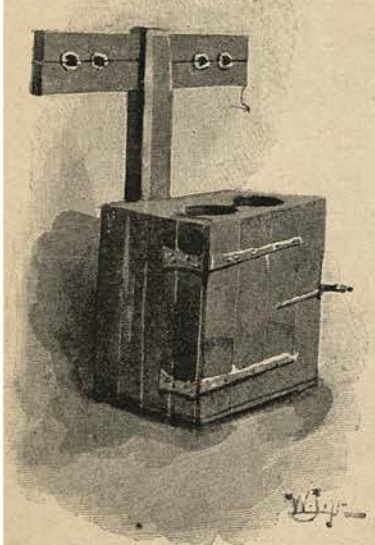
We may take leave of Roman London by a brief survey of the remains still visible, of which there is not very much. In the British Museum we may find some mosaic pavements, for the most part very small. Others are in the Guildhall Museum, where also may be seen numerous frag-



LONDON BRIDGE FROM THE RIVER

ments of articles of domestic life, and some portions of a building of not very exalted architectural pretensions. Augusta cannot, in fact, have been an imposing city, and had not time during the short half-century of its existence to make itself remarkable for any of the outward adornments we see and admire in such a place as Pompeii. Some interesting bronzes, of foreign workmanship, and a silver statuette, have been dredged out of the Thames, and are in the British Museum. The last remnants of the old fort which for so many centuries guarded the approaches to the bridge were almost all destroyed in making Cannon Street Station; but the site of a bath, with a good pavement, still exists under the Coal Exchange in Mincing Lane, at what would have been the south-eastern corner of the pretorium. When the walls were built, we must remember, there were two landward gates, and so far as we know, two only, although three ancient roads led from Augusta to the interior of the island. One of the gates was near the site of the modern Newgate. The other was a little to the east of Bishopsgate. Through Bishopsgate went the road to Colchester eastward and the road to Lincoln northward. Through Newgate went the road to Chester, and probably also another western way, afterwards the road to Reading. Of the riverside gates we have only

STONE IN PANYER ALLEY MARKING SUPPOSED HIGHEST SPOT IN CITY

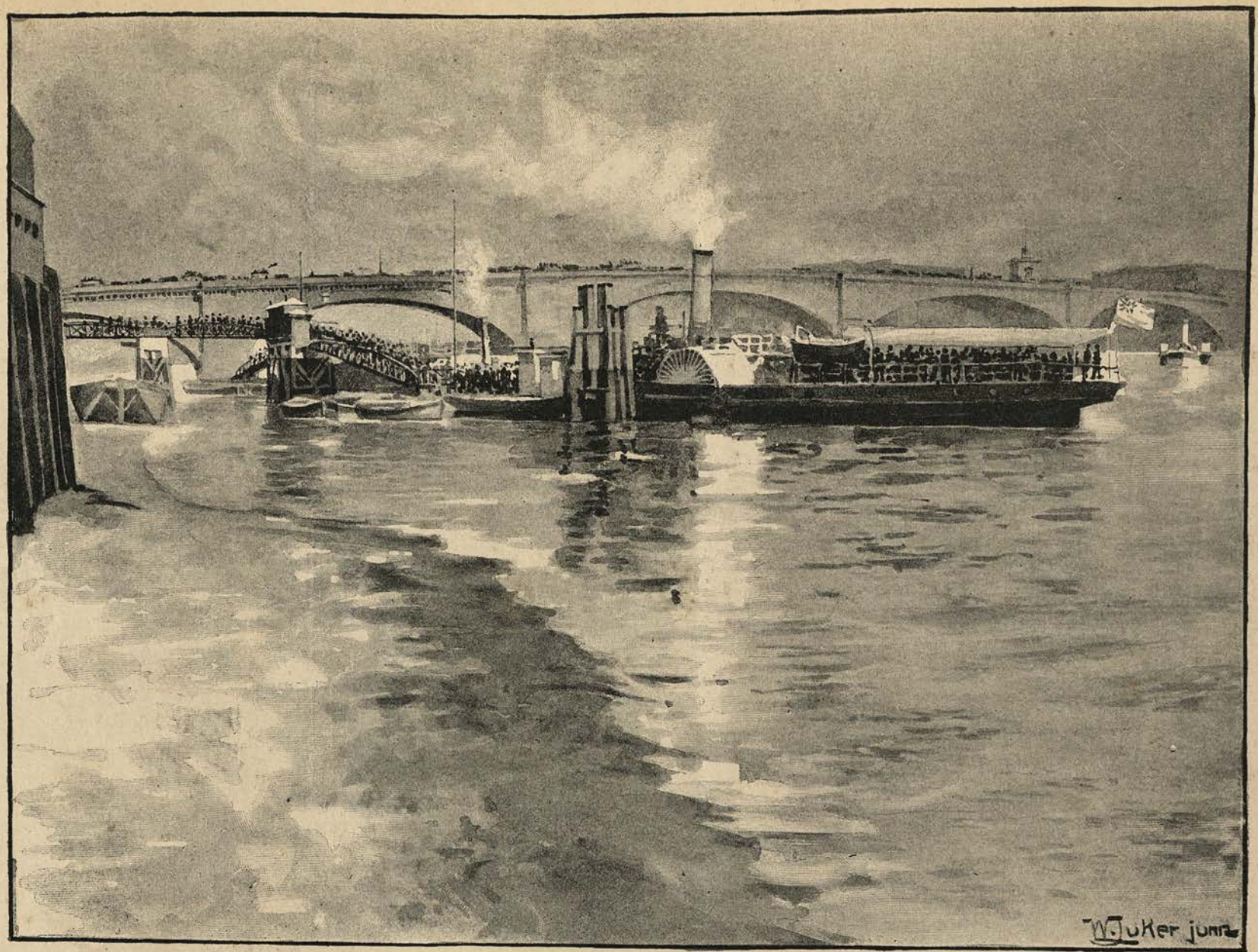


THE WHIPPING-POST, NEWGATE

that to the bridge for certain, but both Billingsgate, under another name, and Dowgate, at the outfall of the Wallbrook, may have been in existence. Two fragments of the old wall may be easily seen. One of them, with some strongly marked Roman features, is at the new post-office buildings in St. Martin le Grand. The other is the well-known bastion in the churchyard of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, which, though built of Roman materials, and on a Roman foundation, dates probably from an extensive "restoration" of the city walls made in the reign of Edward IV.

I have endeavoured so far in this chapter to put forward the curious tales by which the Londoners of the twelfth century accounted for their walls, their gates, and the names they bore. They are more entertaining than some of the modern theories with which we meet, but they are scarcely more extravagant. Stow put his successors on the right track, but they speedily left it. Of these modern theories, only one is worth noticing here. Readers of the foregoing part of this chapter will have noted that "Roman London," of which some people talk so glibly, is only, to speak strictly, a geographical term. There was no Roman London, except a strongly fortified barrack, till after the middle of the fourth century, or, say, 360. The Romans left Britain in 410, their influence meanwhile having steadily declined, the country having been constantly disturbed by the

THE GENERAL POST OFFICE—GETTING OFF NIGHT MAILS



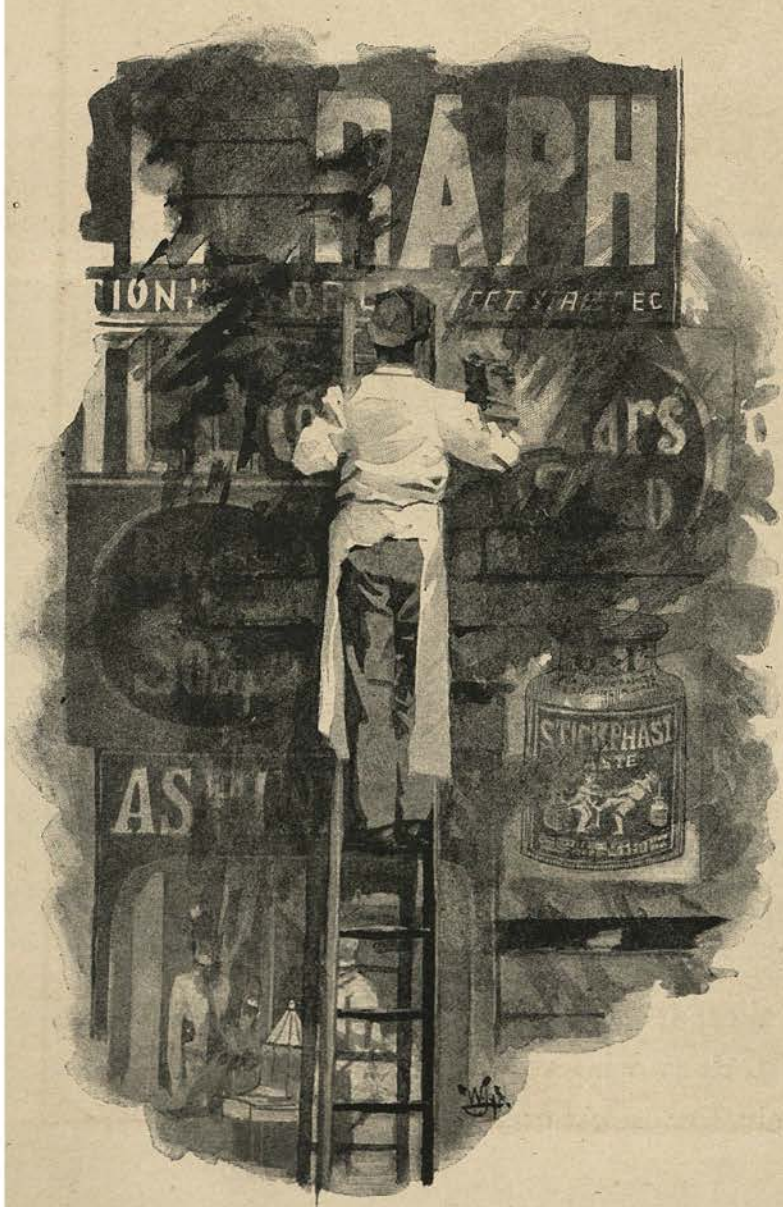
OLD SWAN PIER, THAMES STREET

invasions of the northern tribes, by the outbreak of local discontent, and by the rise and fall of pretenders to imperial power. One of these was "a citizen of the island," as we are told by Orosius, named Gratian, who was elected emperor in 407, and speedily slain. He may have been a citizen of Augusta, or of some other town; we are not told; and Augusta may have had citizens, or burghers, or *municipes*, like other Roman cities. We know nothing for certain one way or other; and all we do know is that London was a Roman city for about half a century of the utmost disorder. For another half-century we are entirely in the dark as to the fate of London, until in 457 we find the Britons, defeated by the heathen Saxons, retreating upon London. Thenceforward all is blank, till in 604, a century and a half later, we find it in the hands of the King of the East Saxons, a place evidently of no great importance, as may be gathered from the ecclesiastical annals of Beda, with ruined walls, a prey for centuries to all invaders, until in 839 it was finally destroyed, burnt and deserted by the Danes, and lay desolate for thirty years.

"STEWED EELS"

In the face of facts like these it is strange indeed to find a strong body of modern London historians who would have us believe that the Romans founded a municipality in Augusta, that this municipality

survived to Saxon times, and became the progenitor of the present corporation. That the Romans during their brief occupation of Augusta made it a municipal city is not impossible, though it is more likely that they looked on it more as a fortification than anything else. In any case we have no evidence either way. We are on firmer ground when we deal with the second statement. We do know that, even if there was a Roman municipality, and if it survived the trials of the Saxon invasion and other calamities between 410 and 604, it could not have survived the Danish desolation of 839; and those who would have us believe in that survival have to account for the fact that after the time of Alfred we find London organised as a shire in itself, and can trace every modern municipal office back to its origin in the system universal throughout England, and without any imitation or survival visible of the Roman forms of municipal government.



REPAIRING DAMAGES

There are many other strange theories to be found in the pages of London antiquaries, but most of them, like that of the late Mr. Black, are so extravagant

CARTING SNOW TO THE RIVER

as to carry their own refutation with them. It will be sufficient if, in this first chapter, we are able to start fair on a brief notice of some of the wonders of our modern city, unencumbered with memories of British kings or of Roman municipalities; and content to believe that the institutions which have made London the foremost city of the world are wholly of home growth and development.

DAILY NEWS OFFICES

SIMPSON'S CHOP HOUSE, CORNHILL

HOLBORN CIRCUS—A WINTER'S MORNING

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF THE CITY

The first Settlement—London as it appeared before 1066—The Walls—Westcheap—Eastcheap—The Bridge—Billingsgate—London in 1266—The Gates—New Suburbs—Houses on the Bridge—Billiter Square—Domestic Life—London in 1466—Improvements—St Paul's—Costume—The Plague—Changes in 1666—The New River—Variations of the Population.

LONDON once firmly established, girt with an impregnable wall, and filled with citizens who were men of enterprise, very soon began to show signs of growth. The few early names with which we meet seem to prove that Alfred chose among English, Danes, French and German settlers, almost indifferently. We cannot be quite sure of this for the first few years, but the conditions of citizenship did not necessarily imply birth, and wealthy adventurous spirits, willing on the one hand to cross even the terrible Bay of Biscay, or the almost equally terrible German Ocean, and on the other, to help as occasion arose and fight with pirates

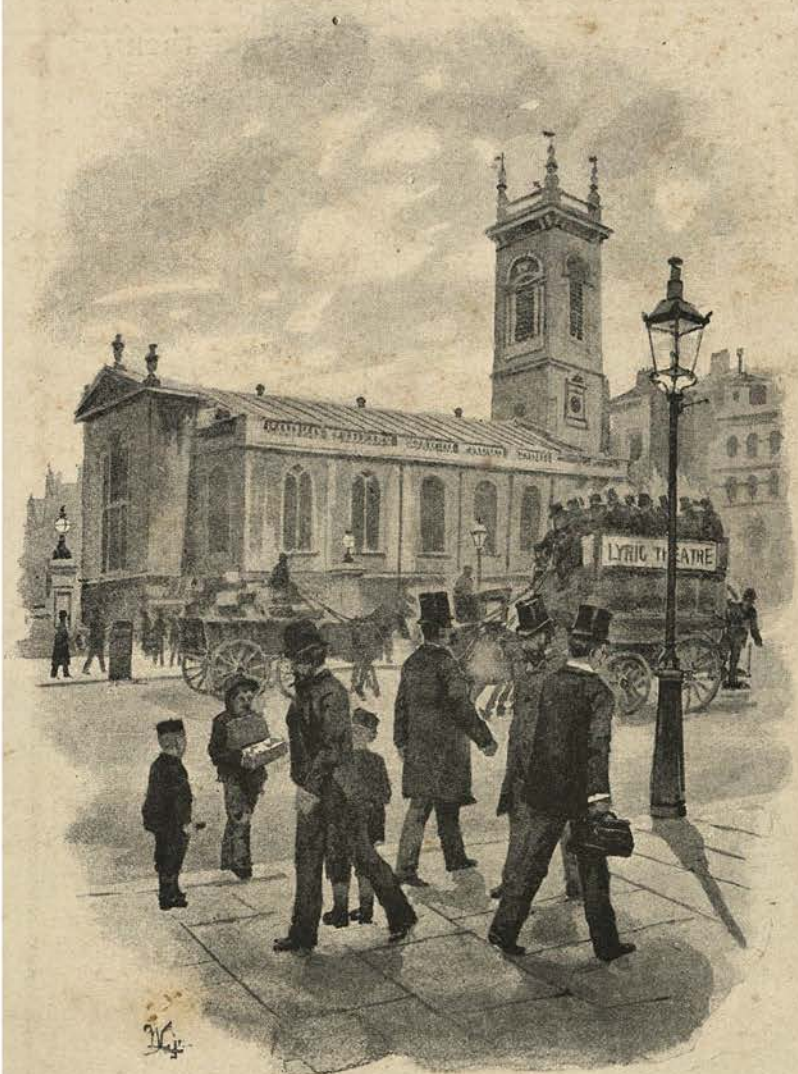
BENNETT'S CLOCK IN CHEAPSIDE

and Northmen, were, no doubt, welcomed by the infant community. Some Danish or Scandinavian words and names still survive. London has its "hustings" where other cities have their "portmannimote"; among early local names we can hardly deny a Danish origin to Goderun's or Guthorm's, Lane, now Gutter Lane, or a Burgundian origin to Lothbury, the site of the mansion of Albert the Lotharingian. There are other such names to be found, but all I want to prove is that, even before the Conquest, London had a very mixed population, and that its connection with foreign countries through its wide commercial activity was already a matter of importance to the whole nation. In the laws attributed to Alfred and Guthorm a man who fared thrice over the sea by his own craft—*craft*, here, may mean a ship—was accounted worthy of thane-right. The successive kings did what they could to foster the trade

CLOTH FAIR—"YE DICK WHITTINGTON"

of London, and the fortifications were kept in order, so that when the Danes overran all the rest of England, the city alone withstood them, and King Æthelred owed his safety to the walls. Even a disastrous fire—the first of many—in 982 left the defences intact; and Cnut, in order to get above the bridge, had to make some kind of canal for his shallow boats round Southwark. It is possible to form some kind of picture in our mind's eye as to what London looked like in those remote times. Suppose that to avoid the Danes round Southwark, we crossed the Thames higher up, at what is now Westminster. A few hillocks would stand up from the mud flats, and it might be possible at low tide to go from one end of the Watling Street at Stane Gate to the other at Tothill, without anything worse than wet feet. We should make our way northward through a region all burnt and desolate till we reached what is now Hyde Park Corner. Turning eastward, then along the Roman road to Reading, we should cross the Tyburn at Cowford, where afterwards was the Stone Bridge, and later again the uninterrupted line of Piccadilly clubs and palaces. Thence, keeping rather to the north, we should reach the road now called Holborn, from the brook which here makes itself a narrow "hole" through which to flow before it becomes the tidal Fleet. In front of

PRUDENTIAL ASSURANCE COMPANY'S OFFICES IN HOLBORN

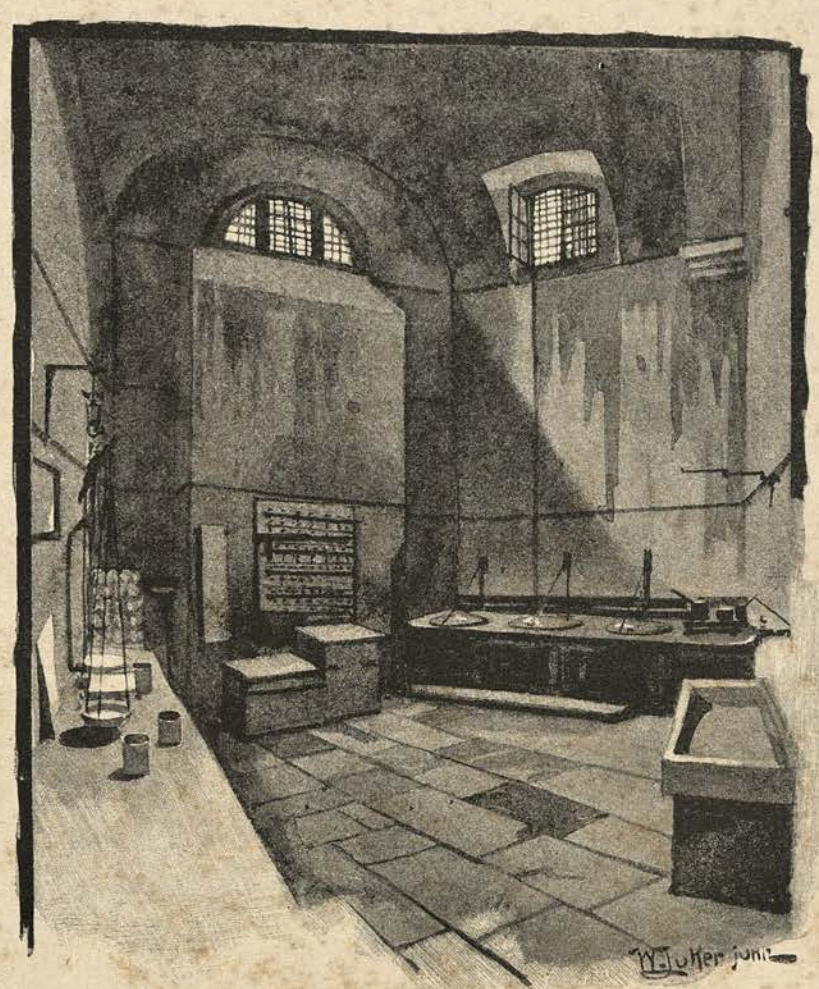


ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, HOLBORN

us now would be the frowning walls of London, and the Westgate immediately above the Fleet, while the road dipped into the valley below. There must have been a bridge here over the Holborn or Fleet at a very early time, the road zigzagging up to the gate, a little to the northward of what we call Newgate. The Fleet on the right is a wide tidal marsh, and before we descend to it we may possibly perceive the burnt fragments of a farmhouse, near to where is now St. Andrew's Church. Before entering the city we should observe that the line of the wall extended along the precipitous eastern bank of the Fleet, down to the Thames. Very few, if any, houses or churches would rise above the level of the ramparts, but if any did so, it would be St. Paul's, and a little farther on perhaps St. Martin's le Grand. Standing outside the gate and turning southward we should see the wide waters of the Fleet spreading themselves over what is now the city end of Fleet Street, and so westward to a knoll of higher ground, where were some remains of

HOLBORN VIADUCT—A SLIPPERY DAY

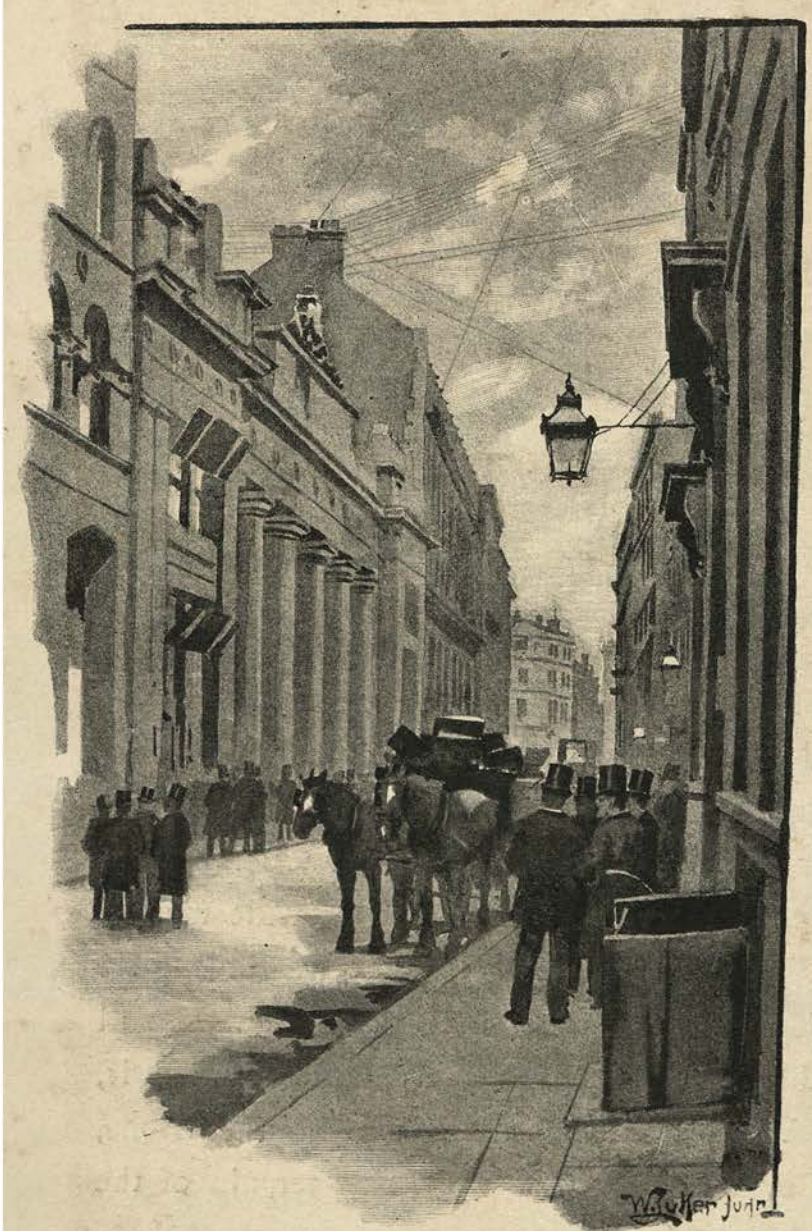
buildings, now still marked by a Roman bath. This knoll would be approached by a narrow path from Holborn, now called Shoe, properly Show-well, Lane. Westward the Strand, like Fleet Street, would be under water and there would be no access to the city where Ludgate afterwards stood.



NEWGATE—THE KITCHEN

When we have entered at Newgate we find a wide open space, then or shortly afterwards occupied by butchers' stalls and shambles. The road, the newer Watling Street, takes a slanting direction towards the south-east, passing the east end of St. Paul's, and just touching the edge of a number of houses on the right, but skirting a wide market place on the left. This is Westcheap, and we can take a road along its northern side, now Cheapside, if we wish to see the king's palace, and the offices of the municipality in Athel Street and Aldermanbury. If, however, we keep along the Watling Street, we arrive at London Stone, down in the Walbrook valley, and see above what may remain of the

old Roman pretorium. We observe that population is thickest along the Thames, round Dowgate, at the bridge foot and along the great northern road which ascends from the bridge towards Bishopsgate. There are many open spaces, as, for example, from the northern line of Eastcheap down to Billingsgate—called then or afterwards Romeland—that is in modern English "roomy-land." As to what we should see if we crossed the strongly fortified bridges, I have no information to offer. Southwark must have been well defended with a wall, as its name imports, apart from the fact that Cnut had to get round it, as he could not cross it. The city houses without exception must have been but poor wooden constructions, the streets and lanes very narrow and crooked; and the few churches, some three or four at the most, very small, and afraid, in the presence of the enemy, to raise their short towers above the level of the surrounding fortifications. In times of peace Billingsgate would be crowded with the larger craft—which to our modern eyes would



MARK LANE

BILLINGSGATE MARKET—EARLY MORNING

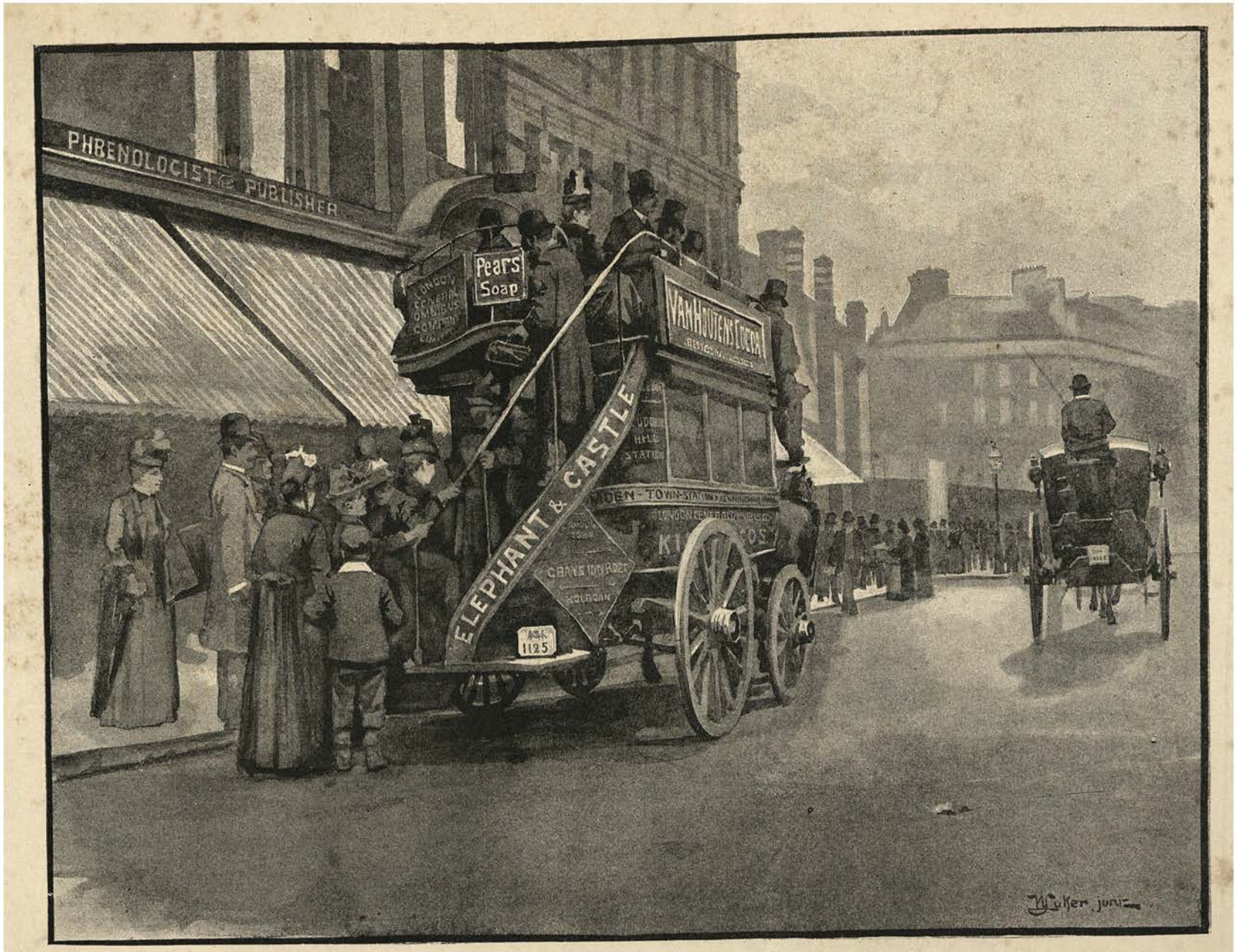
MONUMENT TO GOLDSMITH, TEMPLE CHURCH

have seemed little better than open boats; and a fleet of still smaller boats would be above the bridge at Dowgate. Southwark Bridge was not built for many centuries, and while the old bridge still existed, a short distance farther east than its successor, the chief fish-market was here, and the line of Old Fish Street probably marks the site and also shows us how much the edge of the river has receded. Before the Conquest the city wall east of Billingsgate came down to the water just where the Wakefield Tower is now, and there can have been no such street as Thames Street. Goods were landed at the gate of Billing and sold in the Cheap hard by. If we descend the stream of time a couple of hundred years, from the Conquest to Henry III, we shall observe a great change. We might pause at Fitz Stephen's account of London in 1170, or thereabouts; but it has been very often quoted, and tells us more about the citi-

TEMPLE GARDENS

ONE OF THE ENTRANCES TO LEADENHALL MARKET

zens and their amusements than about their public buildings or the topography of the city. True, he says there were in his time seven double gates; and from the context we infer that he does not include Dowgate, the Bridgegate, or Billingsgate. We know that Aldgate was opened about sixty years before Fitz Stephen's time. Aldersgate also must have been made very soon after the Conquest, and probably Cripplegate, with its covered way to the Barbican, cannot have been much later. These, with Newgate and Bishopsgate, only give us five. For the sixth and seventh we may choose either Ludgate—a mere postern, as its name denotes—or the postern towards the Tower; and conjecture that he included the gate on the bridge, which was, of course, on higher ground than the water gates. As a fact we know that a full hundred years after his time the following only are enumerated as being specially guarded: Ludgate and Newgate together, Ludgate being still, in all probability, but small; Aldersgate, Bishopsgate, Aldgate, and the "Porta Pontis." But to resume:



NEW BRIDGE STREET—STRUGGLE FOR THE 'BUS

ENTRANCE TO GREAT ST. HELEN'S

in 1266, or about that time, London has greatly increased since the Conquest. Not only is the number of houses greater, but the public buildings, such as churches and halls, are more numerous and larger. If we approach the city from the south side of the river, where Henry III has just dismantled the fortifications, we pass the fine Early English buildings of the canons of St. Mary Overy, approaching completion, and come to the strongly fortified gate at the southern end of the bridge. The view from this point of the city on the opposite bank of the Thames is very fine. The walls with their bastions are visible and the Tower, to which great additions are being made. To the left the magnificent steeple of St. Paul's is rising above the long ridge of the cathedral roof. Beyond it the once vacant space near Newgate is being rapidly filled by the low domestic build-

LEADENHALL HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET

ings of the Grey Friars and their beautiful church now nearly finished. Many other church towers and spires relieve the monotony of the red-tiled roofs of the houses. If we look westward we see the new suburb rising beyond the Fleet, the row of houses broken by the fine church of the White Friars, and ending with the house of Templars. The Knights we are well bridge, when a narrow street, upon it, is like here and there with intervals can look down from which we on the surging tide below. The heavy piers which supported the nineteen arches and the drawbridge almost formed a dam, and at the changes of the tide the passage was very dangerous to boats. Peter of Colechurch, the architect, lies buried in the small but beautiful chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which he had built on and within the central pier. When we reach the northern end and pass through the principal Bridgegate

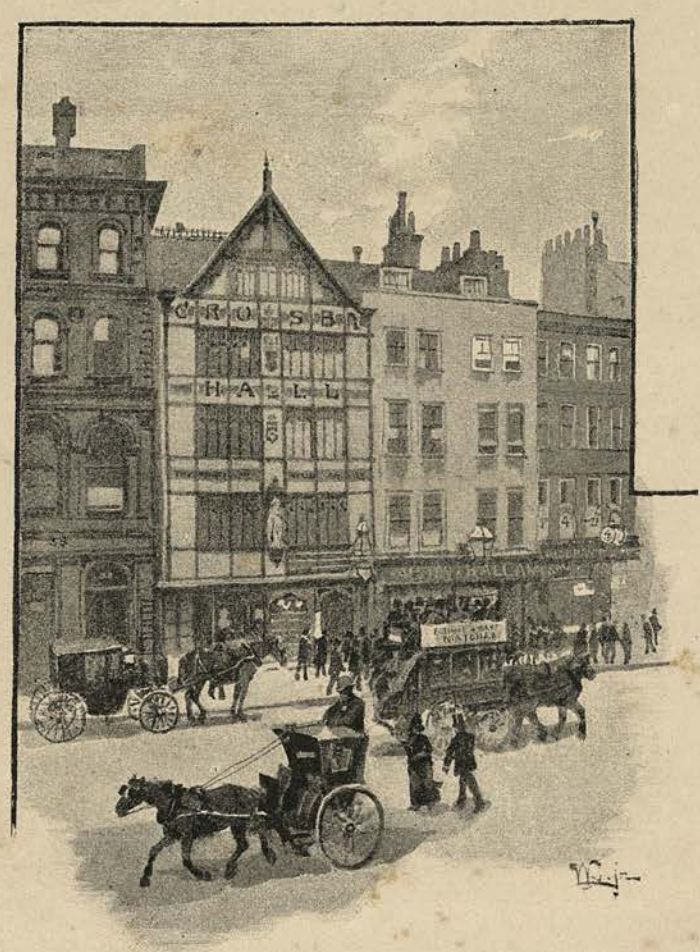
CROSBY HALL FROM GREAT ST. HELEN'S

CORDWAINERS' HALL, CANNON STREET

CORNHILL

CROSBY HALL, BACK VIEW

we are in Eastcheap. Some very tangible relics of this ancient market-place still remain. It lay wholly on the right of the old road towards Bishopsgate, and is now represented by Billingsgate Market on the south and by Leadenhall Market on the north. The intermediate space, now all built over, was, at the time of which we are speaking, after the middle of the thirteenth century, nearly all open, except, perhaps, for some more or less permanent booths and shops which encroached on its boundaries. As we ascend the hill we pass the hay and grass markets, marked probably by such names as Fen-church, "fen" being the same as the French "foin," and Gracechurch, or Grass-church. A little farther to the right is the head-quarters of the "bell-jetters" or founders, commonly called "potters," from the metal pots they made which were in great



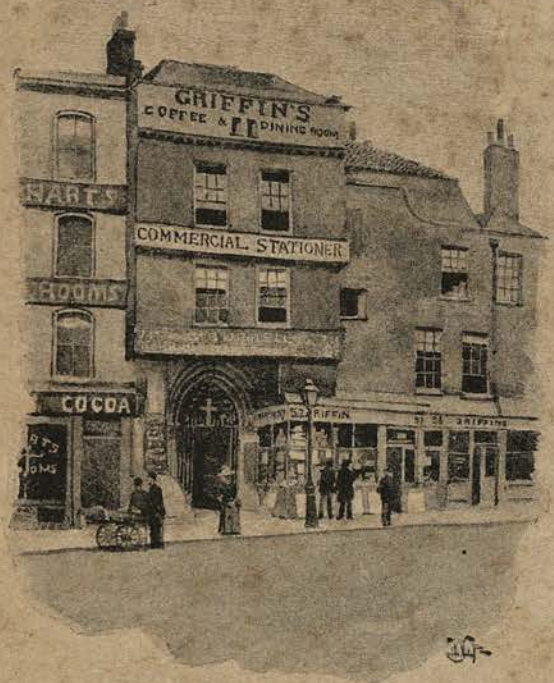
CROSBY HALL, FRONT VIEW

demand. Walter le Poter, a wealthy alderman, was of this trade, and presented all the brazen pots necessary for the kitchen, infirmary, and other offices of the Grey Friars. The site of these metal-workers' factories is still marked by Billiter Square. Next to them, and nearer our line of progress northward, were the lead-workers, whose name remains in Leadenhall. Crossing Cornhill, where possibly there was a corn-market —but there are difficulties in this theory—we come to Bishopsgate Street. The fine new nunnery of St. Helen, with its extensive gardens, is on the right, and then some of the best houses in London line the roadway, at the end of which is the Bishops'-gate, standing a little to the left of the Roman gate which it represents, as the street from the new bridge is a little to the left of the old line of lanes, of which Botolph Lane and Philpot Lane still exist.

We have but vague ideas as to the life of the citizens. The

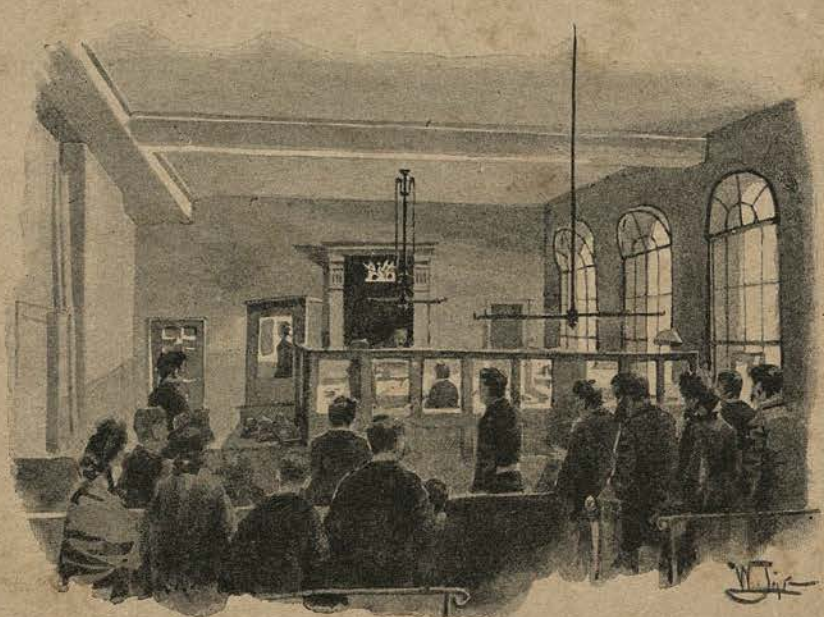
"ALL 'OT, 25 A PENNY"

THE GUILDHALL, FRONT EXIT



ENTRANCE TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT

"assize of Henry Fitz Ailwin," the first mayor, points out that "in ancient times the greater part of the city was built of wood, and the houses were covered with straw and stubble and the like." Although spoken of as a thing of the past, there must still in the thirteenth century have been much of this kind of building, with a corresponding amount of squalor and misery. But stone, at first only for chimneys, and afterwards for whole houses, was gradually coming in, and tiles for roofing followed soon, though brick walls were rare for a long time later. Naturally, the people went about in winter well muffled up, and kept their heads covered even indoors. Great hoods of coarse cloth, lined with rabbit skin, were universal, and people of position wore hats or caps, or pieces of handsome stuff or needlework, wrapped round their heads. Cordwainers and glovers and hosiers are mentioned very early, and many illuminated manuscripts exist from which we may gather materials for a distinct idea of the



THE GUILDHALL POLICE COURT

national costume. Furniture was scarce; there were few beds. Straw and rushes were on the floors, and the wealthy kept out draughts with costly but coarse hangings. There can have been no window-glass in common use, and but little even in the churches.

CARTING SNOW

If we care to make one more such excursion through old London, let us choose a date well on in the fifteenth century, say two hundred years later than 1266. Edward IV is on the throne, and Elizabeth, his eldest daughter, afterwards the Queen of Henry VII, has just been born. There is a temporary lull in the long Wars of the Roses, but in the city every preparation is kept up, and the citizens, who were foremost in

THE OLD CHESHIRE CHEESE, FLEET STREET

setting the king on his throne, are determined that no negligence on their part shall endanger it. By this time a great change has come over the aspect of the city. Order prevails everywhere; the streets are swept and lighted; guards are at the gates, and patrols make regular rounds from hour to hour. In every street there are fine stone houses, some of them of great size, and each house in which a military or political leader lodges is decorated with gay flags, showing his arms, badge, and colours. The Guildhall, now in its best condition, is but one of a round dozen of such structures, and the mercers close by, the tailors not far off, the goldsmiths, and several private citizens, such as Crosby and Pountney and Basing, have built halls which might well rival it. Of Crosby Hall the remains are extensive and picturesque, the old banqueting chamber, now converted into a restaurant, being one of the most pleasant places of the kind in London. There are carpets in many houses and curtains and window-glass in small pieces with much lead-work. The churches, too, partake of the general air of prosperity. The spire of St. Paul's, albeit only slated, that is, covered with slats, or slices of wood, is the highest in Christendom, rising 520 feet above the pavement. The cathedral church itself has been greatly lengthened, and the choir, consisting of as many bays as the old Norman nave,

AUSTIN FRIARS

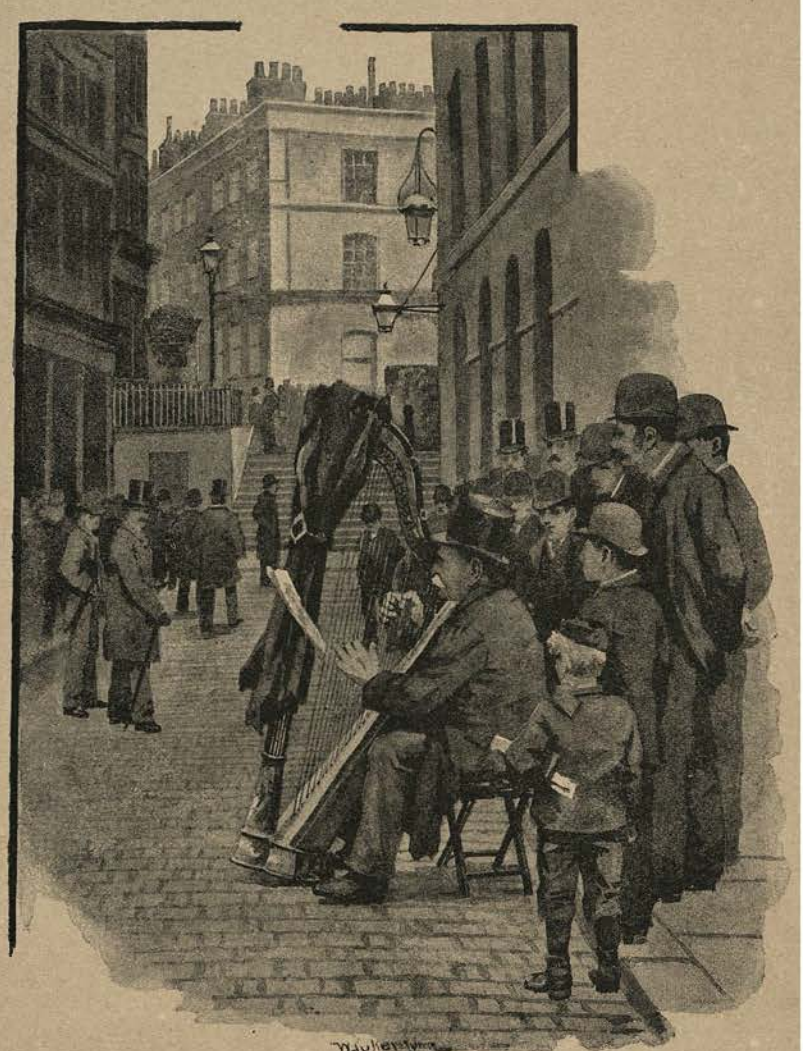
encroaches eastwards on the former meeting-place of the citizens. The Watling Street could no longer pass by that way, and the road to Newgate now ran through Cheap. There was no thoroughfare through St. Paul's Churchyard, the gates at either end being only opened when the king came in or went out. All meaner folk had to find their way to Ludgate by Carter Lane and Broadway, and even the wall was here diverted from its old direct line from Ludgate to the Thames by an angle contrived to take in the great house and church of the Black Friars. The friars had covered the sites of the old castles of Montfitchet and Baynard, while a new house, called Baynard's Castle, had been built farther east, and was in the reign of Edward IV the residence of the king's mother.

SMITHFIELD

The suburbs had considerably increased, but were all, as far as Holborn Bars, Temple Bar, and other exterior defences, within the city jurisdiction. The aspect of the people had also greatly changed. The muffling necessary in the thirteenth century had given place to more elegant costumes, especially indoors, where improved masonry and

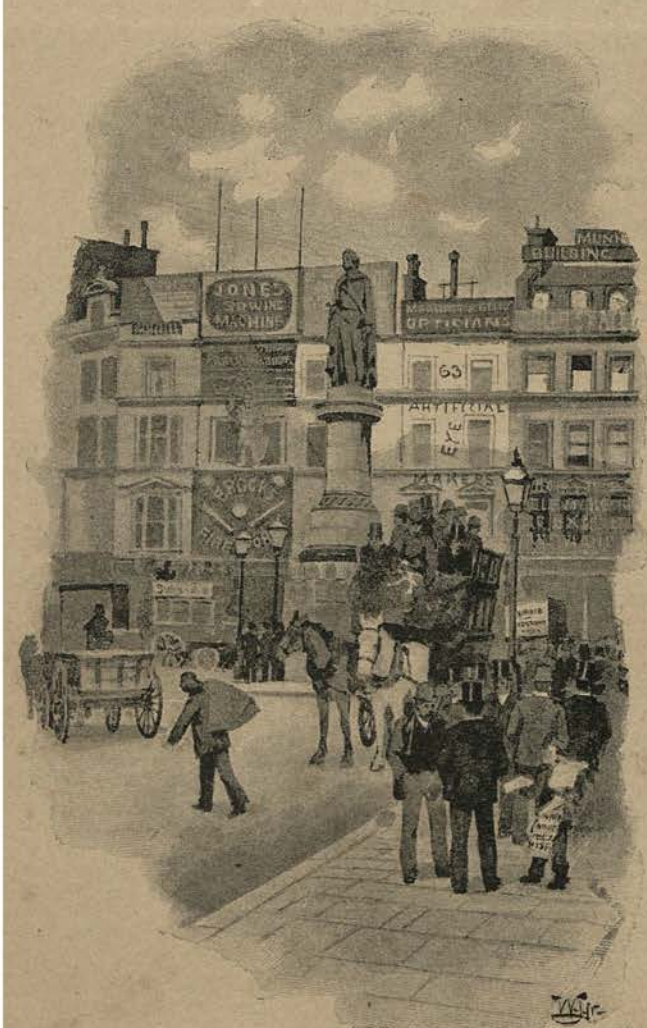
THE RECORD OFFICE, FETTER LANE

panelling mitigated draughts, and were supplemented in the houses of the wealthy by tapestry. Chimneys with great fireplaces, like one we may still see in Crosby Hall, were becoming common; while in the streets the comparative cleanliness, the sidepaths, and the many covered markets, made handsome clothes possible. The military element was very prominent. The King-maker's soldiers thronged the streets north of St. Paul's, where Warwick Lane still commemorates his palace, and probably few houses were seen in the city except those of knights or great nobles. Wheeled vehicles must have been unknown, and, indeed, impossible, except in the widest thoroughfares. The labouring folk might be seen each morning crowding the gates on their way from their homes at Stepney or Clerkenwell or Walworth, for the stately houses of the nobles and aldermen, and the great gardens of the numerous convents, left little room for the lodgings of the meaner folk, even though both the Cheaps were nearly built over. To make up, two smooth fields, one east and one west of the city, were used for markets, and most of us can remember when cattle were still sold in West Smithfield. Notwithstanding many outward improvements at this time, the public health grew worse and worse. All kinds of theories, religious, superstitious, meteorological, and



A CITY CHARACTER—NEW LONDON STREET, FENCHURCH STREET

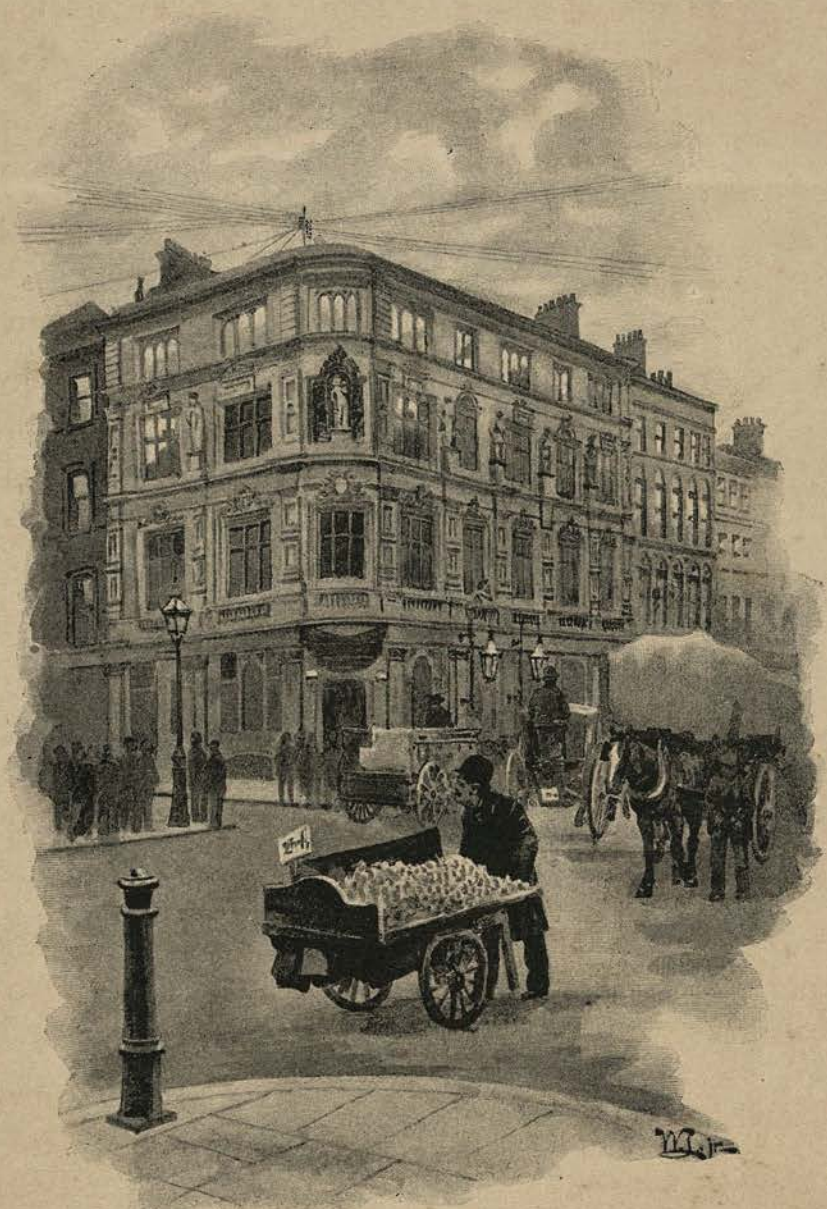
sanitary, were invented to account for the constant inroads of the plague. The water supply, to which we now know it to have been due, was never suspected; and in 1500 it was computed that the death-rate from this cause alone had reached 30,000. This is a moderate estimate beside the 50,000 said to have died in 1349. In many houses there were private wells, and a spring in the churchyard of Cripplegate was especially popular, though it received the drainage of one of the largest of the cemeteries. Until our own day the causes of these frightful epidemics were absolutely unknown, though they were connected rightly with want of cleanliness. Only fifty years ago, Hecker, one of the best authorities, was inclined to attribute the Black Death to atmospheric causes and a series of earthquakes.



WILLIAM IV STATUE, KING WILLIAM STREET

Another plunge of two hundred years down the stream of time would take us to 1666, the year of the Great Fire. For that period, and, indeed, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we have many contemporary authorities. Stow's marvellous *Survey*, one of the best topographical books ever written, a wonder even in the age which produced Shakespeare, tells us what London looked like immediately after the Reformation. The old churches at the Grey, Black, White, and Austin Friars were still standing. So were parts of St. Martin's

and the fine priories of St. Helen and the Holy Trinity by Aldgate. St. Paul's was intact, except that the tower had lost its lofty spire, and at least one hundred parish churches still existed. Stow, counting Westminster, makes them one hundred and twenty-three. Smith, another authority of the same period, says London "hath 108 parish churches within the walles." After Stow's time we have the domestic life of the citizens delightfully described in words by Pepys, and by Hollar in prints and views, and can form a clear estimate of the changes wrought by the fire. Population had immensely increased, and the city had grown more unwholesome in proportion. The plague claimed its victims every year. Had they but known it, the citizens had the remedy at their doors. The fresh, clean water of the New River had been brought in by Sir Hugh Myddelton as far back as 1620, but was universally neglected in favour of the Thames, the churchyard springs, and the private wells.



THE LONDON TAVERN, FENCHURCH STREET

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, AUSTIN FRIARS

The Great Fire destroyed these sources of supply; the water-wheels on the bridge were burnt; the springs were dried up, and the wells choked with ashes. When London was rebuilt Myddelton's New River water became a universal necessity, and there was never any more a case of plague in the city.

The changes made by the fire were supplemented and completed, so to speak, when, in the reign of George II, the old walls and gates were swept away, and the old houses finally removed from London Bridge. Since then the city has assumed a comparatively modern appearance, of which we shall have something to say farther on. Here, before concluding the chapter, it will be well to glance at a subject which, notwithstanding its great importance, has so far baffled the researches of the most diligent inquirers.

THE ROYAL HOTEL, VICTORIA EMBANKMENT

The following imperfect notes on the population of London

THE GENERAL POST OFFICE—NIGHT

at various periods are not now printed for the first time; but seem as complete as the vague statistics at our command will enable us to make them.

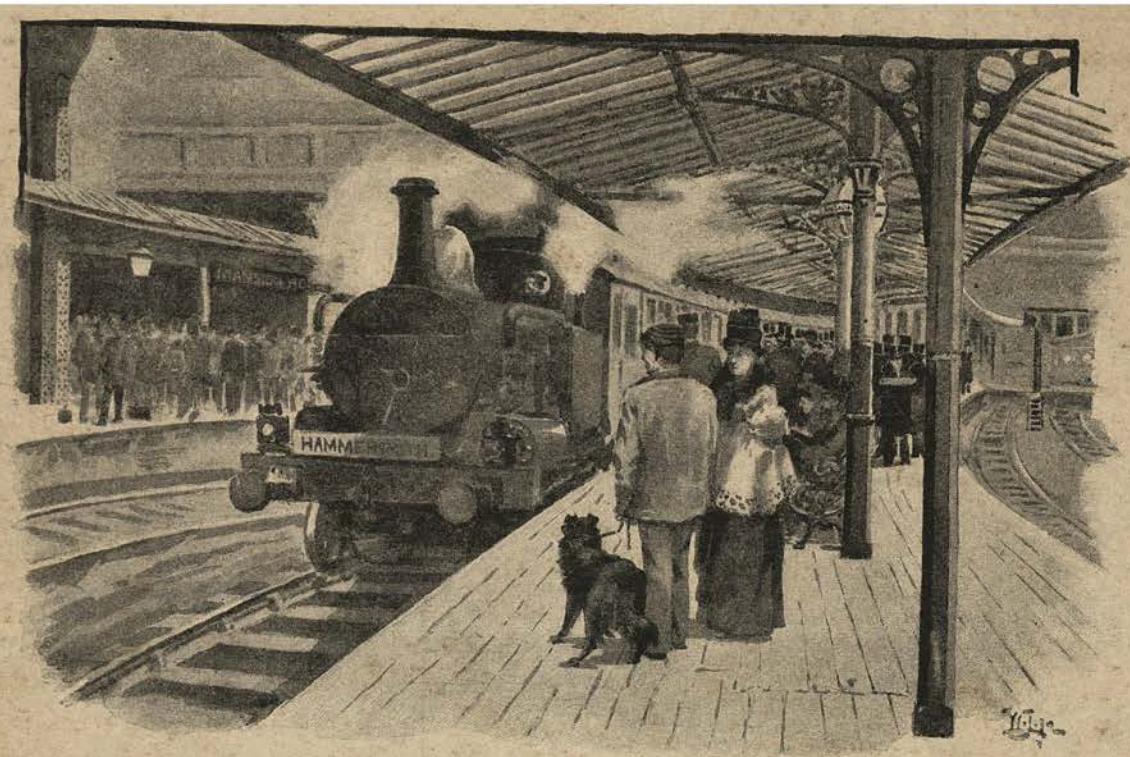
Nothing can be more difficult and more hopeless than to approximate to the actual population before the seventeenth century. In 1636 the Lord Mayor estimated that there were about 700,000 souls within the Liberties; and just before the Great Plague, Howell, the author of the *Letters*, thought there were not less than a million and a half in all London. In the Plague of 1603-11, 14,000 people were believed to have died—as many as 4000 in the one year 1609. In 1625, 35,417 people died of the Plague. In the Great Plague year, 1665, 100,000 victims is stated to be a moderate estimate of the deaths. In a curious old collection of notes relating to the Plague, published in 1721, we are told that in 1625 the burials were 54,265 and the christenings 6,983. The deaths therefore in that, the worst

THE LONDON PARCELS DELIVERY COMPANY, FETTER LANE

Plague year before the Great Plague, were to the births as 8 to 1. A very accurate idea might be obtained from a comparison of the bills of mortality, which were regularly published weekly after 1603. In 1682 Sir William Petty estimated the houses at 84,000, and the number of people at 672,000. Another writer of the same period estimated them at about 530,000. It was not, in fact, until the present century that any accurate and trustworthy information was obtained. In 1801 the population of all London was 864,845. In 1861 the people actually resident in the city were 113,387. In 1871 they had declined to 75,983; and the latest estimates show that the number at present of those who inhabit the city, excluding, of course, those who visit it day by day on business, is considerably below 50,652, at which figure it stood in 1881.

"COME ALONG, MISS, COME ALONG!"

THE GUILDHALL—COUNCIL CHAMBER



THE MANSION HOUSE RAILWAY STATION

CHAPTER III

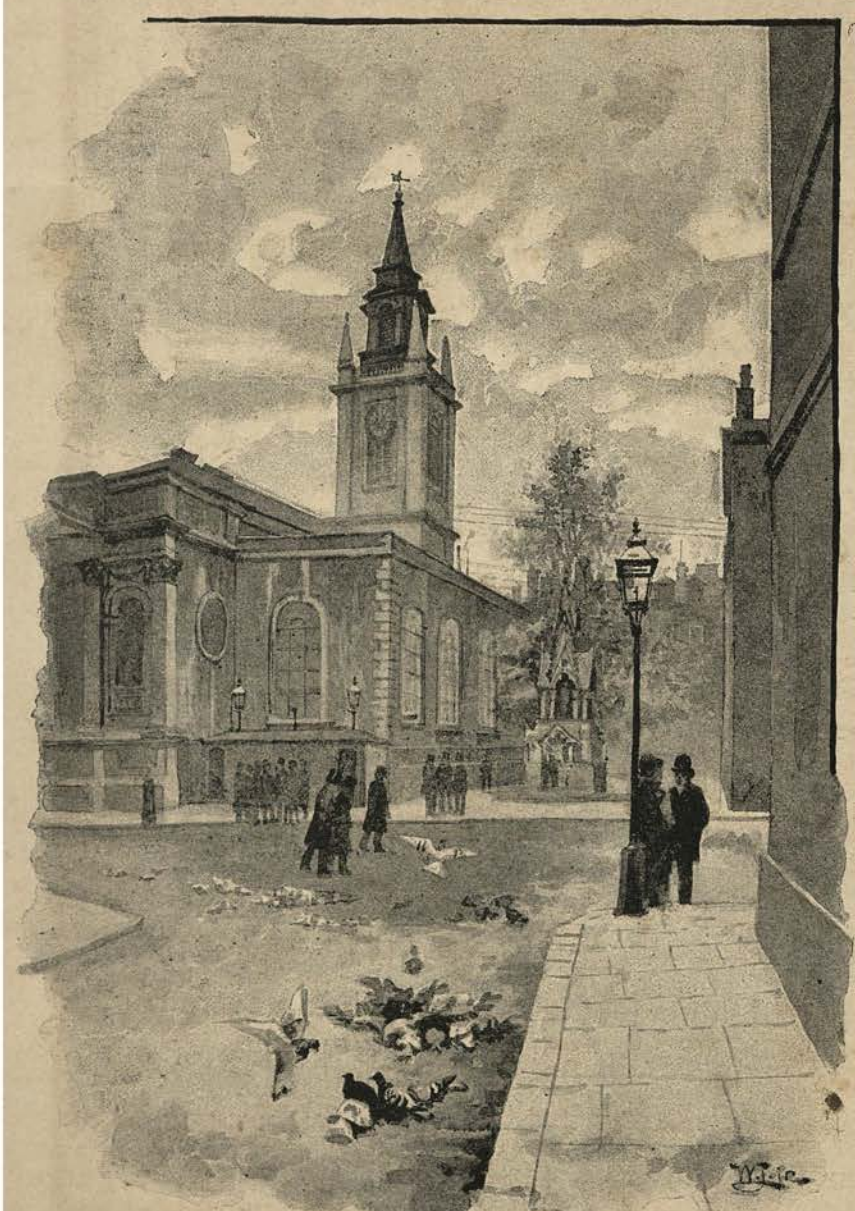
THE CITY GOVERNMENT

The Corporation—Its History—The Lord Mayor—The Roman Theory not proven—The Portreeves—The Sheriffs—The Chamberlain—The Common Council—The Aldermen—The Livery—The Guildhall—The Mansion House—Newgate.

THE Corporation of London is always before the public; we share the reverence which foreigners are said to feel for the Lord Mayor; and there are few dwellers in the greater London of the suburbs who have not at some time or other seen a civic procession, enjoyed civic hospitality, or admired the buildings in which the civic government is carried on. We know, moreover, if we study the history of our country, that in days gone by the constitution of the city of London was held up as a pattern for imitation in other cities; and that on a

very recent occasion, in the Local Government Act, no more appropriate title could be found for the chiefs of the new board than that of aldermen.

There is another point worthy of notice in London municipal history, namely, the prominent part which the rulers of the city have taken in controlling the policy and even the fortunes of the whole country. London has been the real king-maker of England; and at the present day it cannot be denied that the favour of London is necessary to the existence of a ministry.



ST. LAWRENCE CHURCH AND FOUNTAIN, GUILDHALL YARD

The outward, visible head of the city government is the Lord Mayor. He resides in the Mansion House. His election takes place on Michaelmas Day every year at the Guildhall, when he is chosen by the Livery from among the aldermen. He has under him two Sheriffs, like himself changed every year; and the practically permanent officials of the Guildhall are the Chamberlain,

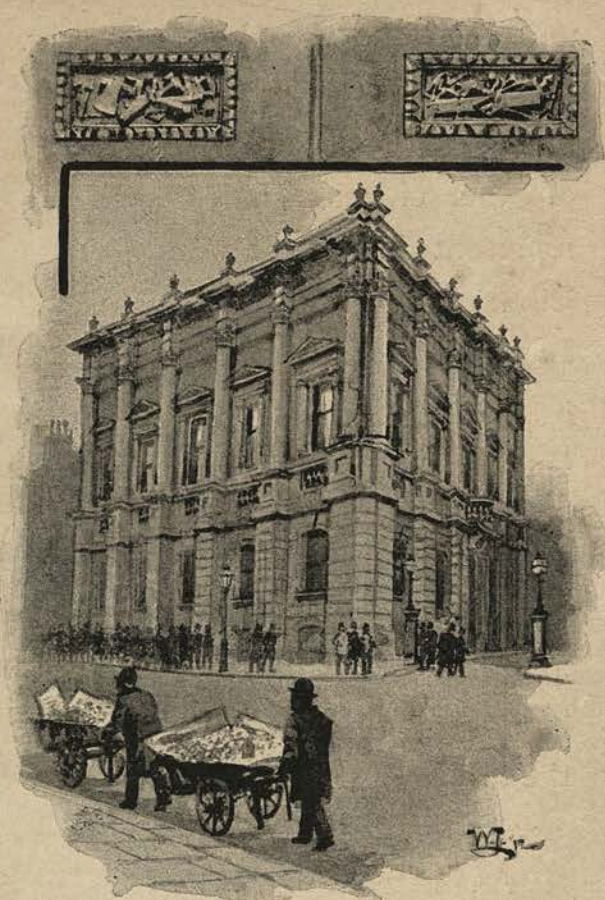
THE GUILDHALL—GREAT HALL

the Clerk and the Remembrancer. There are also legal officers, such as the Solicitor, the Recorder, the Serjeant, and others. Besides all these, the great body of the citizens is represented by the Common Council; and with it there is a rival body, the Livery, or members of the companies. We must examine all these names and find out the curious light they throw on the origin of the city government.

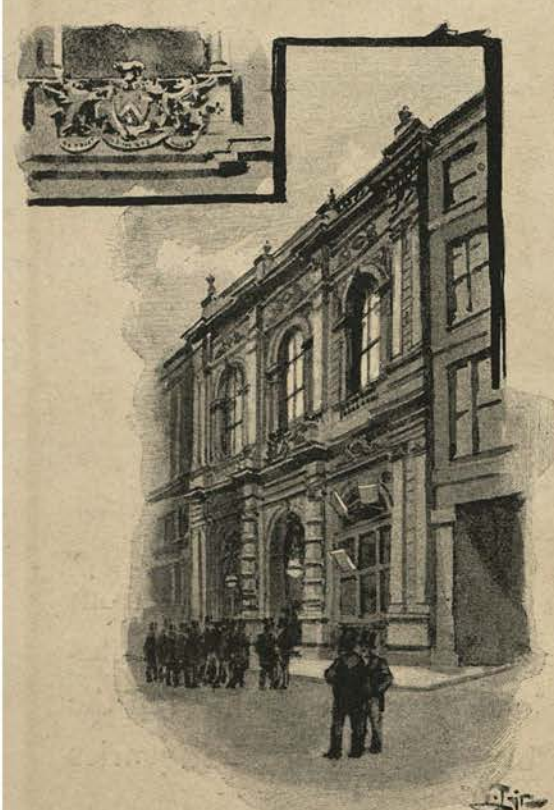
THE MANSION HOUSE, INTERIOR OF EGYPTIAN HALL

As I mentioned in the first chapter, some writers have taken great pains to prove that this municipality grew out of institutions planted in London by the Romans. We have seen how short a time such a place as Roman London existed, namely, at most from about 360 A.D. to 410 A.D., or about half a century. The advocates of a Roman origin for the municipality have to make the most of the Roman period: and we have all seen books written by antiquaries

and historians well acquainted with the subject, in which Roman London plays a part so important that it would seem to have crammed an immense civic experience into those fifty years of doubt, disorder, and warfare. Two considerations, however, need only be stated here in excuse for those who do not believe that Roman institutions of any kind survived till the time of Alfred. One of these consists in the fact that, so far as we are acquainted with Roman municipal



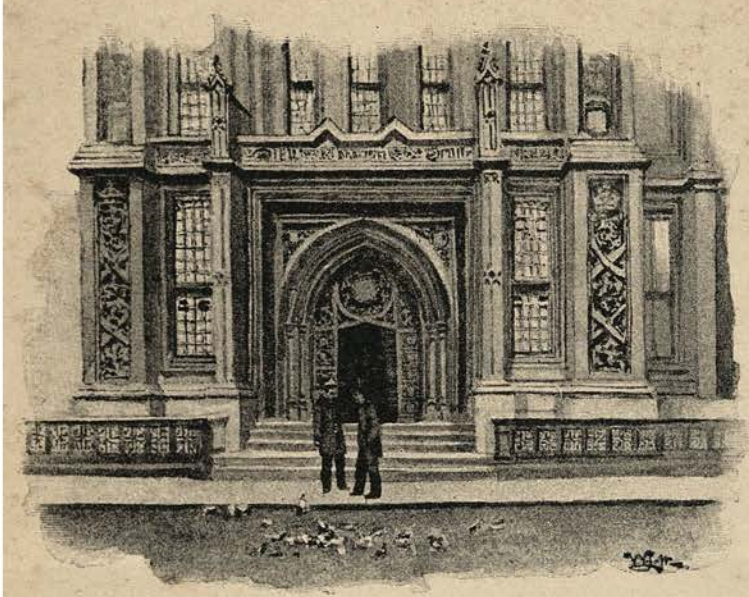
CARPENTERS' HALL, LONDON WALL, SHOWING CARVED PANELS OF DOOR



CLOTHWORKERS' HALL, MINCING LANE, SHOWING ARMS OVER DOORWAY

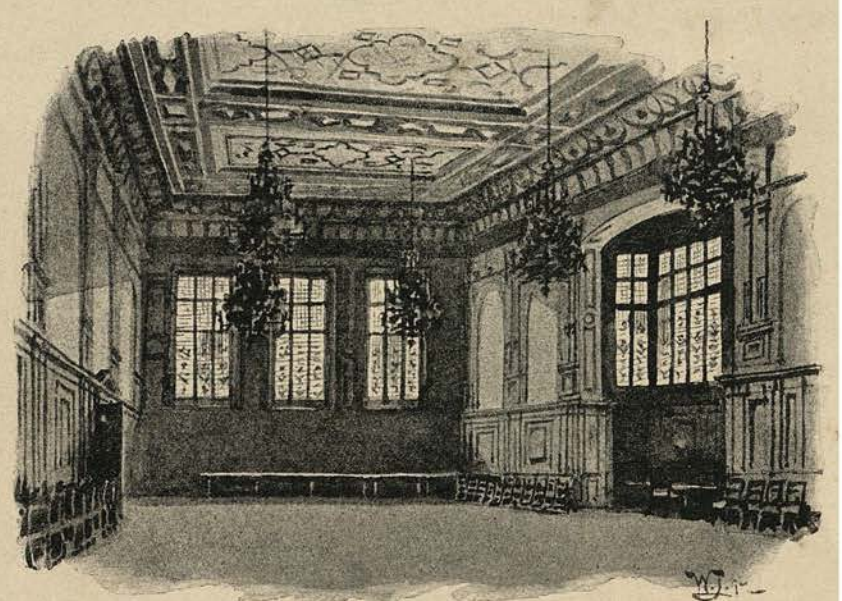
officers, not a single office exists in London which answers to one of them. And the second consideration is even more weighty. We have no difficulty whatever in tracing back the civic offices to their origin, and we find that origin in the ordinary organisation of any English shire. The burden of proof therefore rests on those who put forward the Roman view, which, fascinating as it is, is wanting in a single

JUVENILE BALL AT THE MANSION HOUSE—BETWEEN THE DANCES

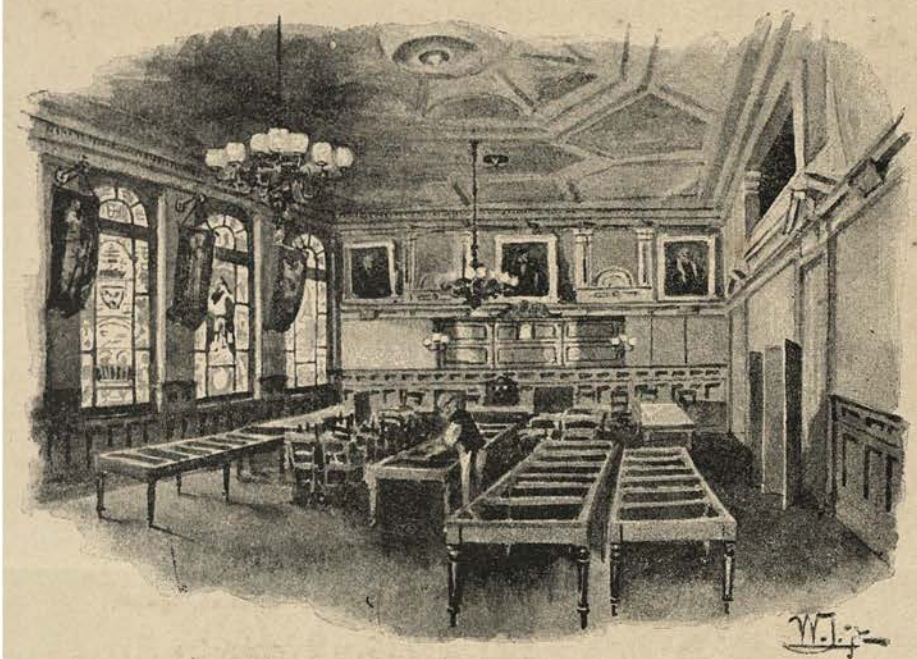


ENTRANCE TO THE RECORD OFFICE

sound argument. To give an example: one of the writers on the subject mentions, I know not on what grounds, that before the Romans withdrew they (1) nominated a *comes civitatis*, or count of the city; that (2) William the Conqueror found a "portgrave" in London; and that (3) "grave" is the German *graf*, and signifies a count. To which the only objections are that (1) we do not know that the Romans nominated a count of the city; (2) William I did not find a portgrave there; and (3) the English word is reeve, not grave, and the portreeve in his duties answers exactly to the shire-reeve in a county. When therefore we trace back the mayor to a reeve we trace him to an ordinary English officer, who neither in name nor in duty resembled a Roman *comes*, but was one of a number of similar reeves who among them answered to the king for all parts of his dominion. William calls him a "portreeve," not a "portgrave" — the

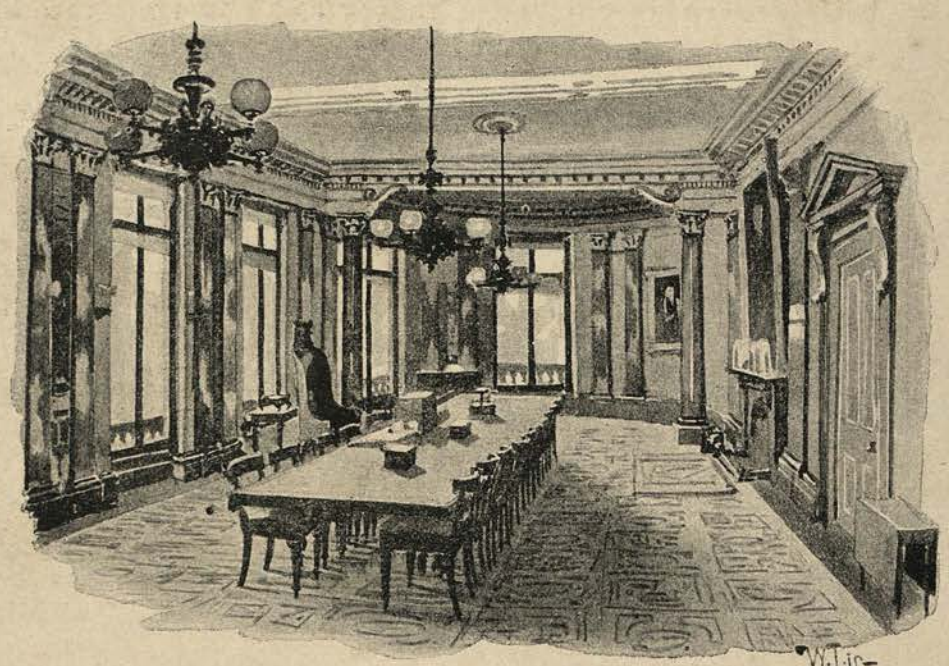


LEATHERSELLERS' HALL, ST. HELEN'S PLACE



BUTCHERS' HALL, BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE

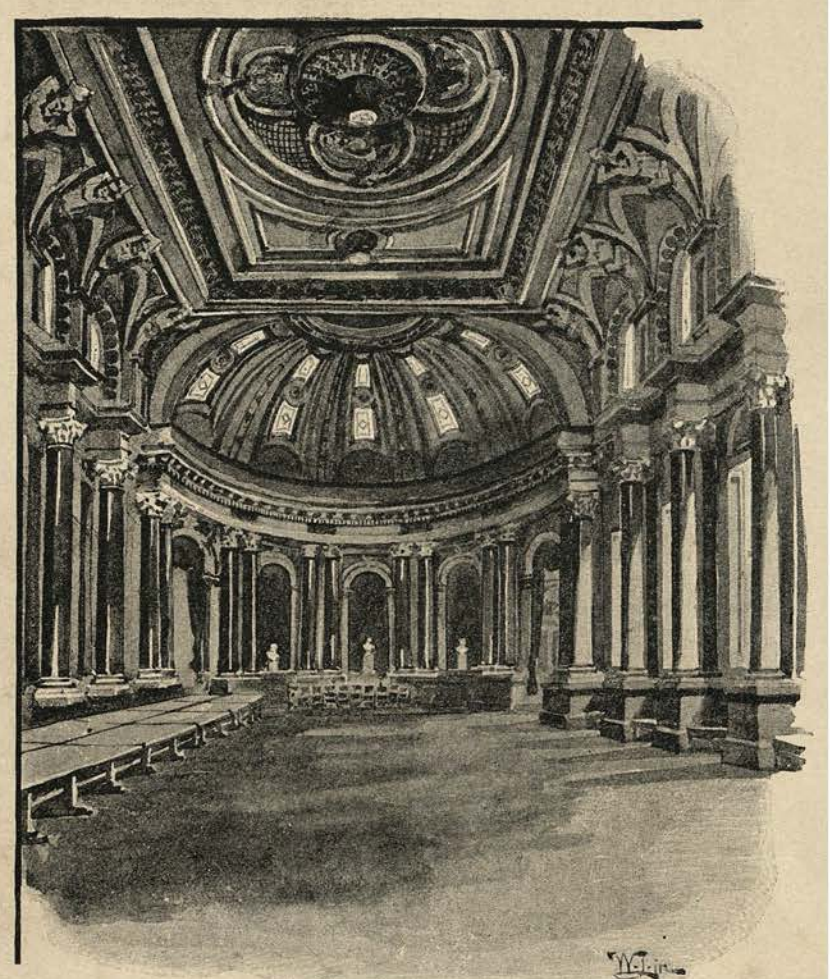
English or Anglo-Saxon office of reeve means primarily something like a steward, and the word is still in use in places in that sense. If, however, my readers can assent to the first assumption, namely, that the Romans left a *comes civitatis* behind them, they may be able to follow the rest of the reasoning which, with much more of the same kind, will be found in a book of no less authority than Mr. J. E. Price's *History of the Guildhall.* What was a portreeve? First, he was reeve of the port, that is, the market, and primarily, perhaps, of that market which, as we saw, was nearest to Billingsgate. *Portus* would mean a gate, but this "port" comes from



COOPERS' HALL, BASINGHALL STREET

porta, a market-place in low Latin. *Porta* further refers more or less distinctly to a place where certain dues were exacted, like the French *octroi* at the gates of Paris. The king's officer had to account for these dues as the shire-reeve had to account for the royal revenue from a county. We find him after the Conquest sitting, no doubt with the king's leave, as a judge or magistrate, and after a time he seems to have held in his own person various offices of authority which, by degrees, he delegated to others. Thus, when he had the name of mayor conferred on him, he appointed two sheriffs to be under him. There had frequently been two reeves, and sometimes even four, as in 1130. This was, of course, to divide the responsibility. After the first mayor came in there were always two sheriffs, but no more.

Here we must pause a moment. We observe that when the portreeve became mayor and had sheriffs under him he only abdicated certain duties but continued to fulfil others — I mean others which pertained to his position as reeve. I do not think the king ever claimed the appointment of these subordinate sheriffs. In a county the Queen appoints the high sheriff but not the

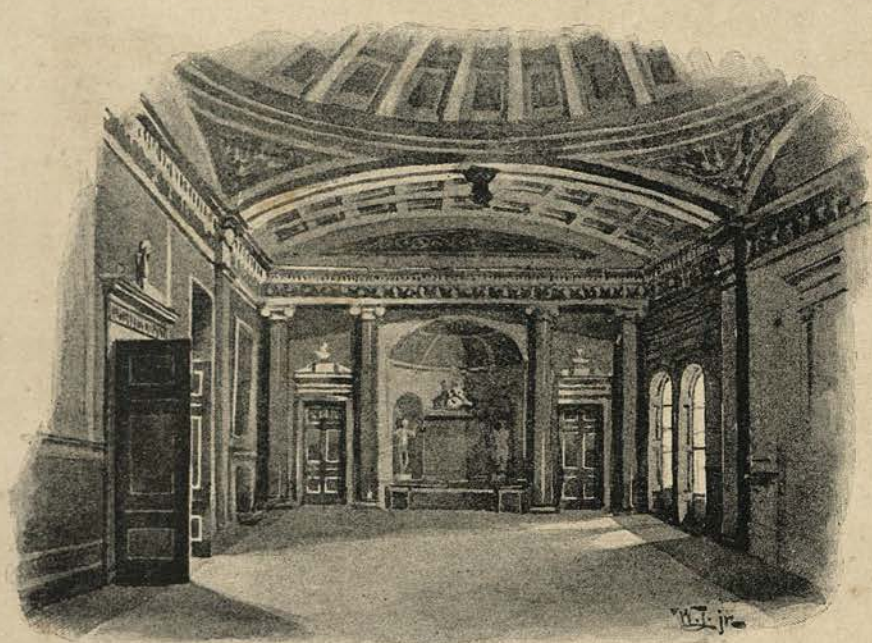


DRAPERS' HALL, THROGMORTON STREET

sheriffs of London
sub-sheriff. The ing, sub-sheriffs,
are, strictly speak- place or preced-
and have not the sheriff of a county.
ence of the high the mayor.
This belongs to

ST. BRIDE'S VICARAGE, BRIDEWELL PLACE

At first the mayor was also
chamberlain and coroner and es-
cheator. Strange to say, we do not
know when or how the office of mayor
was instituted. It is sometimes dated
in 1189, sometimes much later. The
first time it is mentioned is when
the city had to be consulted as to
raising a ransom for Richard I.
This was in 1191. I cannot help
thinking that the office, whether by
that or another name, really came into existence rather earlier; because we know that Richard's great-grandfather, Henry I, and his father, Henry II, were favourably disposed towards the city—as all strong rulers have been since then—and gave many privileges to the citizens. Henry I granted them the county of Middlesex, with leave to appoint a sheriff for it, from



SALTERS' HALL, ST. SWITHIN'S LANE

THE MANSION HOUSE AND THE BANK OF ENGLAND

PUBLIC ROOM IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS, AND COAT OF ARMS OVER DOOR

which I infer that they already appointed their own sheriff or portreeve; and Henry II, confirming this grant, mentions the sheriff of London and his powers separately. It must have been soon after the date of this charter, which was granted some time between 1152 and 1161, that it was found convenient to elevate the chief magistrate to a position superior to that of the two sheriffs, and it is not only very possible, but very probable, that this change was made without any special leave other than the citizens already had. If it is true—and it has frequently been asserted—that the mayor and citizens attended the first coronation of King Richard,

THE GUILDHALL—THE CRYPT

GOG

no other theory will fit with the facts. The mayor at this early period was also the chamberlain—that is to say, he had charge of the city purse, and performed other duties connected with "the chamber of the city," or treasury. The offices of chamberlain and mayor were divorced in a curious manner. When Edward I suspended the office of the mayor in 1285, the office of chamberlain continued to be held by the ex-mayor, to whom in due time a successor was appointed; and by the time the mayoralty was restored the two offices were finally separated. About this time, or a little later, an officer was appointed to keep the records of the hustings, and at the same time to be law adviser to the mayor. The first recorder named was Geoffrey Hartpole. Meanwhile the mayor, anxious to be as strongly supported as possible, had called together the first Common Council. This consisted of twenty-five discreet men of "the more in 1200 they the city," and first time assembled for with the aldermen to take counsel they found men. In 1290 would be of that a lawyer vise them, and service to ad-with the con-

THE GUILDHALL—THE PORCH

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, NEWGATE STREET—BOYS IN PLAYGROUND

MANSION HOUSE POLICE COURT

currence of the aldermen they elected Thomas Juvenal to be "common serjeant." The "common clerk," now called "town clerk," was first appointed about the same time. Finally, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1570) it was found necessary to appoint an officer to conduct the ordinary correspondence of the corporation; he was called the Remembrancer, and was for a short time a kind of private secretary to the Lord Mayor.

So far we have neglected the aldermen, yet, perhaps, of all the city officials they are the oldest. We cannot tell why the title has remained with them when it has been discarded everywhere else; but to understand its meaning we must first go back to a time very near that of Alfred, under whom an alderman was a magistrate and something

more, and who, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, when he had "restored London" in 886, "committed the burgh to the keeping of the alderman Æthelred," his brother-in-law. When we next meet with the word it has changed its meaning, and is applied somewhat indiscriminately to the heads or leaders of guilds, as well as to the rulers of wards. This latter sense, in which it is used as early as 1111, is that which it still bears. We have only therefore to ask further what is a ward. It seems probable that soon after the time of Alfred, and certainly about the time of the Norman Conquest, London was parcelled out into estates or manors, and each manor had its alderman, the first and chief being the bishop. That the bishop was an alderman is a newly discovered fact. His ward lay round St. Paul's. The jurisdiction of the alderman was similar to that of the lord of a manor in the country, and even after the alderman ceased actually to own the land of his ward, he continued to exercise these rights. At first, aldermanries could be inherited, transferred or sold, but by degrees the office became elective, as it is still.

MANSION HOUSE—STAIRCASE

The Common Council has been mentioned; another body of citizens, the Livery, has still to be described. These are the members

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, GREAT HALL—BOYS AT DINNER

of companies who are freemen of the city. When assembled in their "common hall" they perform certain duties which must originally have belonged to the whole body of the citizens, and nominate two aldermen every year for the office of Lord Mayor, one of the two being chosen by the court of aldermen.

It would be possible to prolong this chapter considerably by tracing the history of all the subordinate members of the Lord Mayor's staff; but I have said enough, I think, to show that, whether the corporation had a Roman origin or not, it is easier and safer to derive it from the ordinary constitution of an Anglo-Saxon shire, and until some direct proof has been adduced to the contrary, we shall hardly go wrong in accepting a derivation which accounts for all the facts of the case in an easy and natural manner. Of the grants to the citizens of the county of Middlesex and the village of Southwark, I have spoken elsewhere. London has been lately deprived of Middlesex, but still holds Southwark, as Bridge Ward Without.

Two or three questions are often asked as to the position and title of the Lord Mayor, and very absurd answers are sometimes given to them. Without adducing authorities we may briefly say that the "Lord" Mayor has been a "Lord" ever since such a title has been in use: that he is a judge, and is included in the royal

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, ARCHWAY

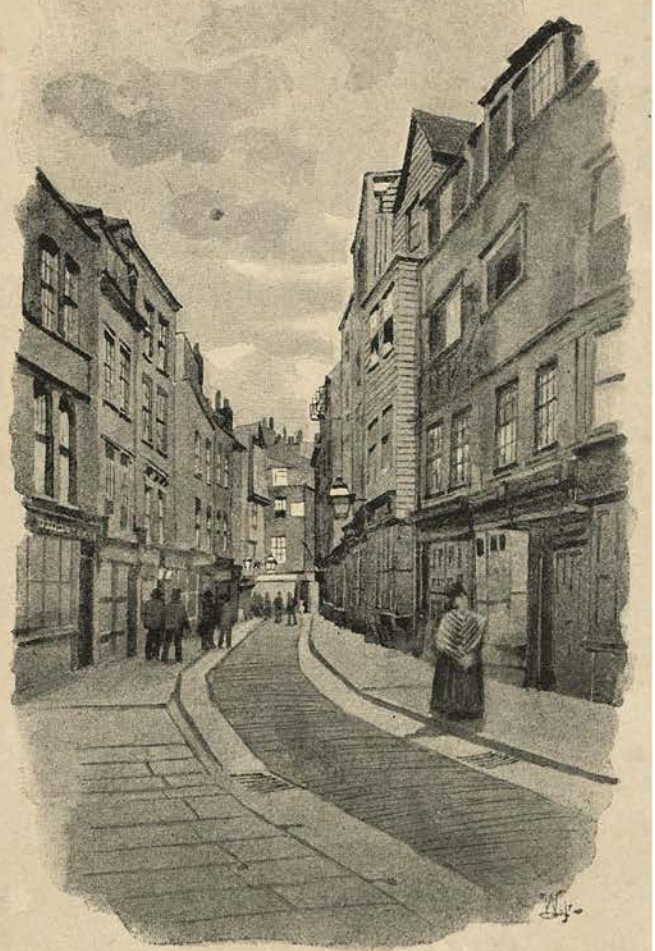
commissions as such; that, like other "Lords," most of whom are not privy councillors, he is entitled to the appellation "right honourable"; that no one but the sovereign takes precedence of him within the city boundaries, and that in other places he ranks as an earl. At the accession of a new king or queen, it is customary to invite him to attend the first meeting of the privy council, —a reminiscence, perhaps, of the days when the Londoners decided the elections of English sovereigns. The original Guildhall was in Aldermanbury. A city guild always met with solemnities and festivities, and a very old writer indeed, Giraldus Cambrensis, calls it in Latin, "a public hall, named from the resort to it of drinkers." A newer hall was built about 1290 behind the old one, and faced into what was then the market-place. Of this hall a beautiful crypt remains. The present Guildhall dates from the time of Henry IV.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, CLOISTER

Within living memory great improvements have been made at the Guildhall. Not only has the hall itself been re-roofed, and made to look more like what it may have been in the days of Whittington, but a new and commodious council chamber has been built in the same

SOUTHWARK BRIDGE

style; and a great boon has been conferred on the public by the erection of the beautiful reading-room. To this is added a most interesting museum, in which the curious may see various ancient remains and relics of all the cities which have successively stood on this site. The late city architect, Sir Horace Jones, deserved great credit for the transformation of the Guildhall, and it forms his best monument; for, if he was also responsible for the meat markets, and for the rebuilt Leadenhall, it will be seen that he was not always equally successful. At one side of the Guildhall entrance we may see some of the ancient buttressing of the fifteenth century, partly concealed behind the curious building which Jarman, the city architect of the time of Charles II, thought to be Gothic, and which was not greatly amended by Dance in 1789.



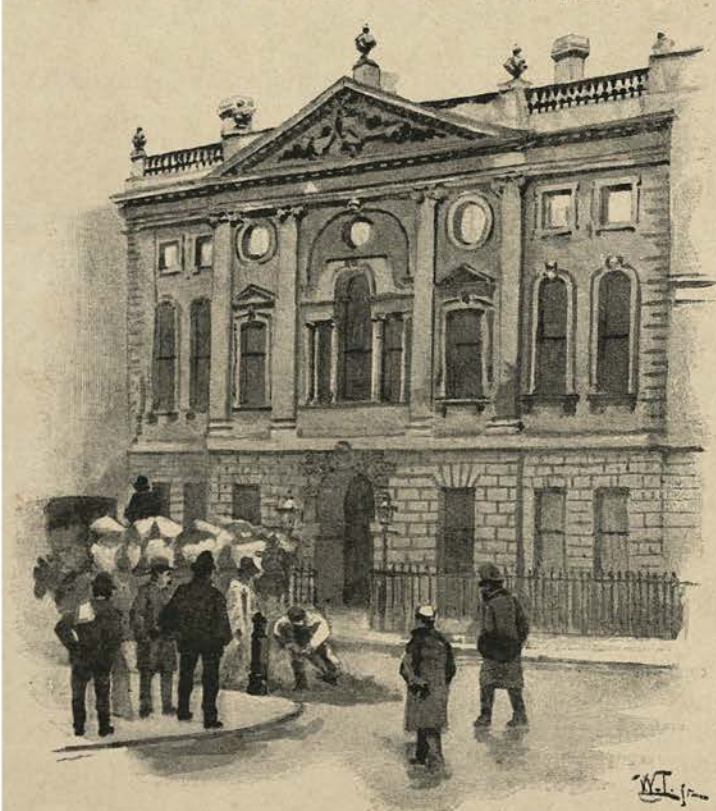
CLOTH FAIR

The old walls of the Guildhall have witnessed some very interesting historical events. Not to go back too far, we may remember that it was here, in the summer of 1483, that Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, assembled the citizens and persuaded them to pass over the children of Edward IV, and to elect Richard of Gloucester king. Shakespeare has made the most of the scene. No enthusiasm was shown for the usurper.

"The citizens are mum, say not a word,"

is Buckingham's report to his master. Nevertheless, the mayor and some others extorted a reluctant assent, and waited on Richard at Baynard's Castle with a formal offer of the crown. It was in the Guildhall, in 1554, that Lady Jane and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, with Archbishop Cranmer and others, were tried and condemned. Here in 1621 James I reprimanded the mayor and citizens for mobbing Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador. In the following reign Charles I made a similar expedition into the city about a charlatan doctor Lamb, but gained little by it; and here, in the Guildhall, in 1642, he in vain demanded the surrender of the five members of the House of Commons from the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens. Finally, not to prolong these associations, it was in the Guildhall that the assembly met in 1688 which elected the Prince of Orange to the throne of England.

The inconvenience felt when the Lord Mayor entertained guests either in his own house or in the hall of the company to which he happened to belong, must have been considerable, and was increased when it became a common occurrence for the Lord Mayor not to reside in the city. In 1734 it was resolved by the Common Council to appropriate the sum of £18,000, which had accumulated from the fines imposed on citizens who refused to act as sheriffs, to building a suitable residence for the head of



IRONMONGERS' HALL, FENCHURCH STREET

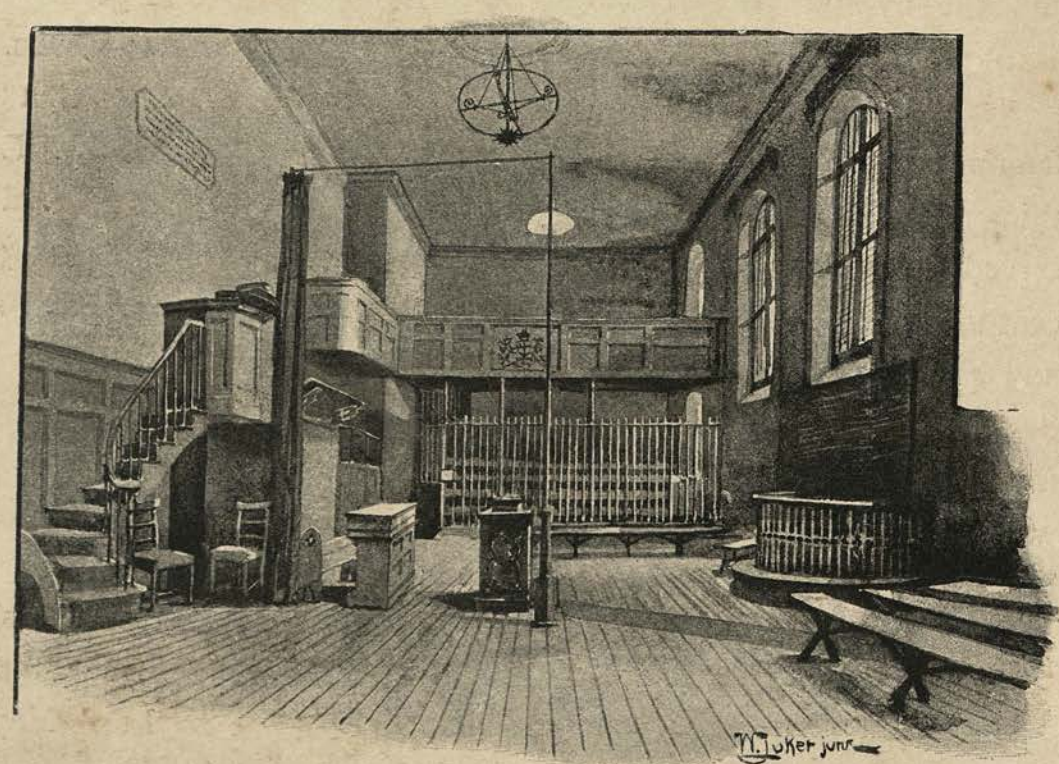
the corporation. George Dance was the architect selected, but it need hardly be said the cost largely exceeded the sum named. Cunningham puts it at £71,000. A great deal has been laid out in improvements, especially in 1867; but nothing can make the exterior worthy of the city. The interior is sufficiently commodious, and some of the reception-rooms are very fine. Of these, the so-called Egyptian Hall, 100 feet long and 59 wide, is the finest. There is nothing Egyptian about it, the roof being supported by twenty Corinthian columns, between some of which are marble statues by eminent sculptors, two of them by Foley. "Caractacus" and the nymph "Egeria" are amongst his best works.

PAINTERS' HALL, ENTRANCE

It is in this hall that the famous banquets are held. Everything is of the best and is served in the most magnificent manner, the display of silver and gold being in itself a wonderful sight. Behind the Lord Mayor stands the "Common Hunt," an officer in a sporting costume with a jockey cap, all that is left of the old privilege of the citizens granted to them by Henry I to hunt in Middlesex and Surrey, and as far away as the Chiltern Hills. Each Lord Mayor takes over the plate and furniture from his predecessor at a valuation. The salary given by the city amounts to £10,000, but no Lord Mayor is

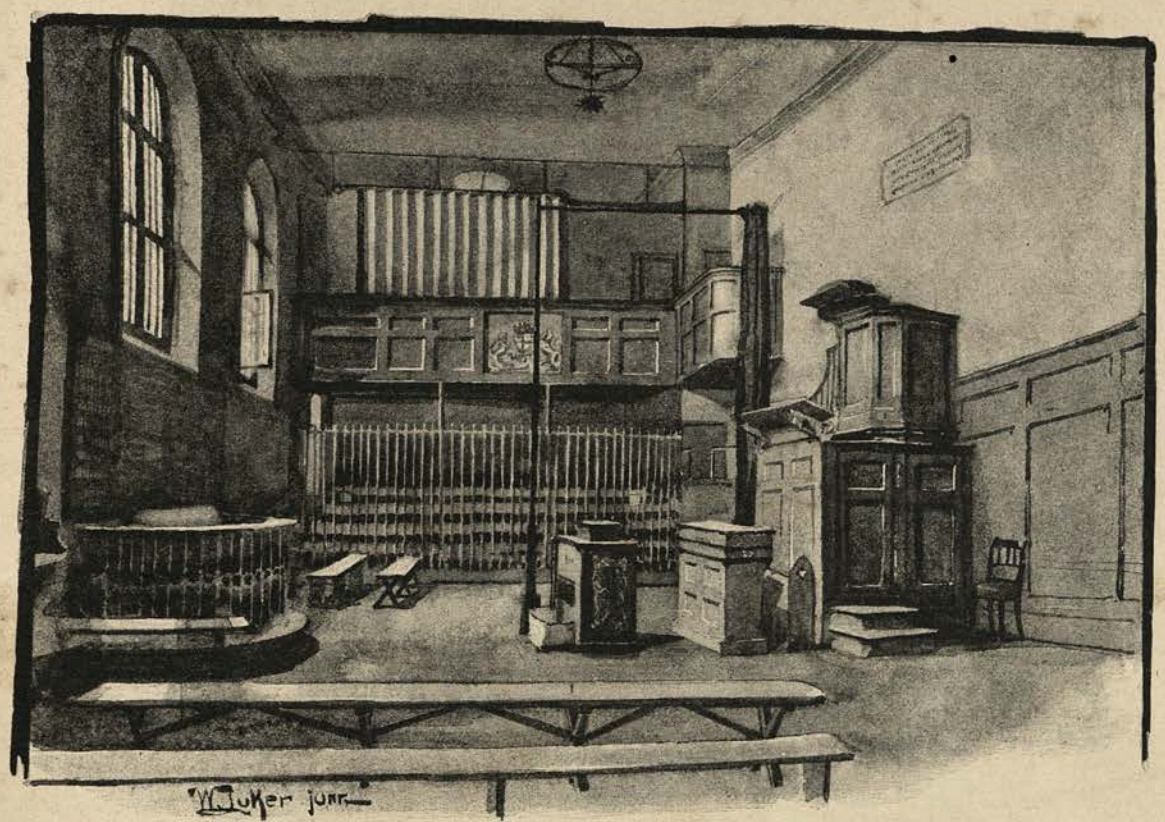
able "to live within his income," and in some cases he greatly exceeds it and is obliged to draw largely on his private resources.

One other civic building must be noticed. Most antiquaries will be sorry when Newgate Prison is pulled down. It is an admirable example of the architecture of a century ago. Although the height is only 50 feet, the proportions are so good that the mere mass and outline remind one of a Norman keep. It is gloomy, strong, impressive, and evidently intended to look what it is—a prison. The design is by George Dance, who built the Mansion House. It is now about to disappear and cease to be a landmark. I have already spoken of Newgate as the oldest of the city gates, or as being probably of the same age as Bishopsgate, and I have tried to show that this date may be fixed somewhere between 360 A.D. and 370. To account for the name of this ancient gate we must remember that



NEWGATE—THE CHAPEL

NEWGATE PRISON

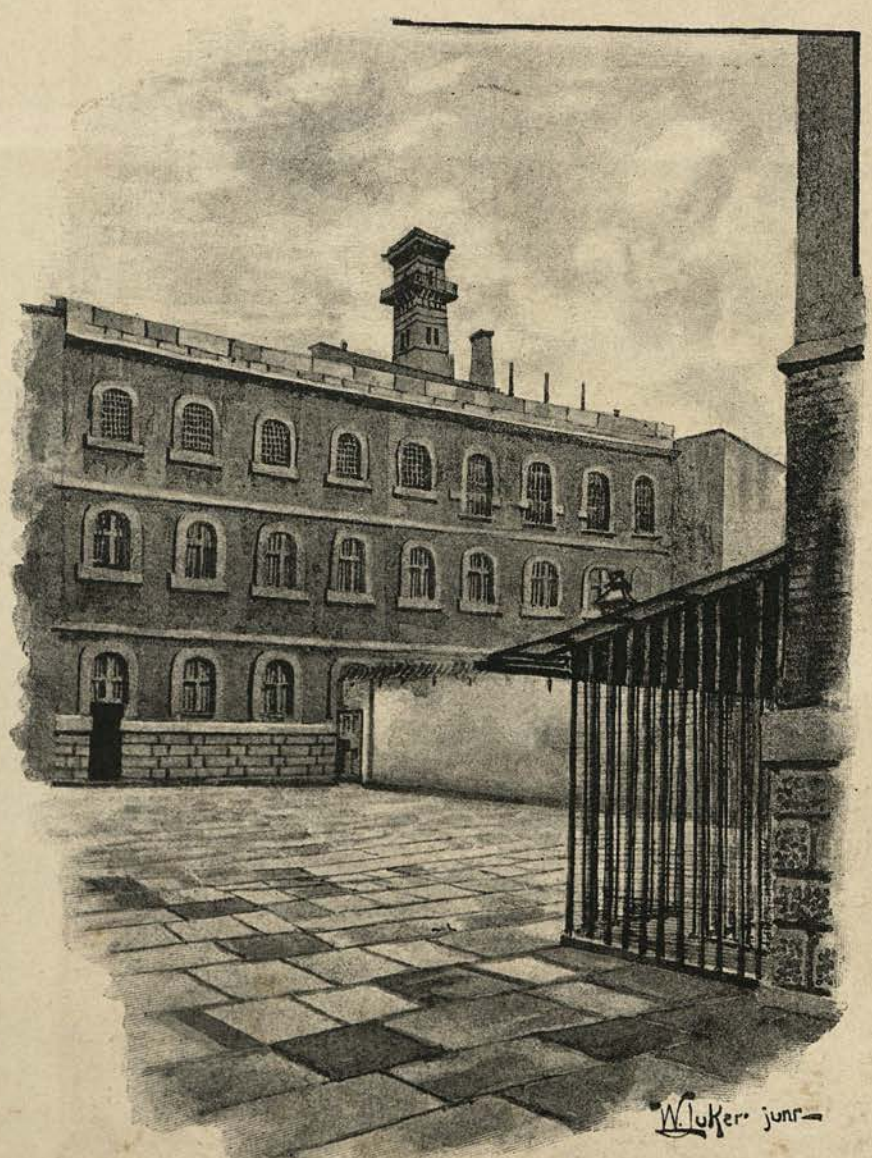


NEWGATE—THE CHAPEL, SHOWING WOMEN'S GALLERY

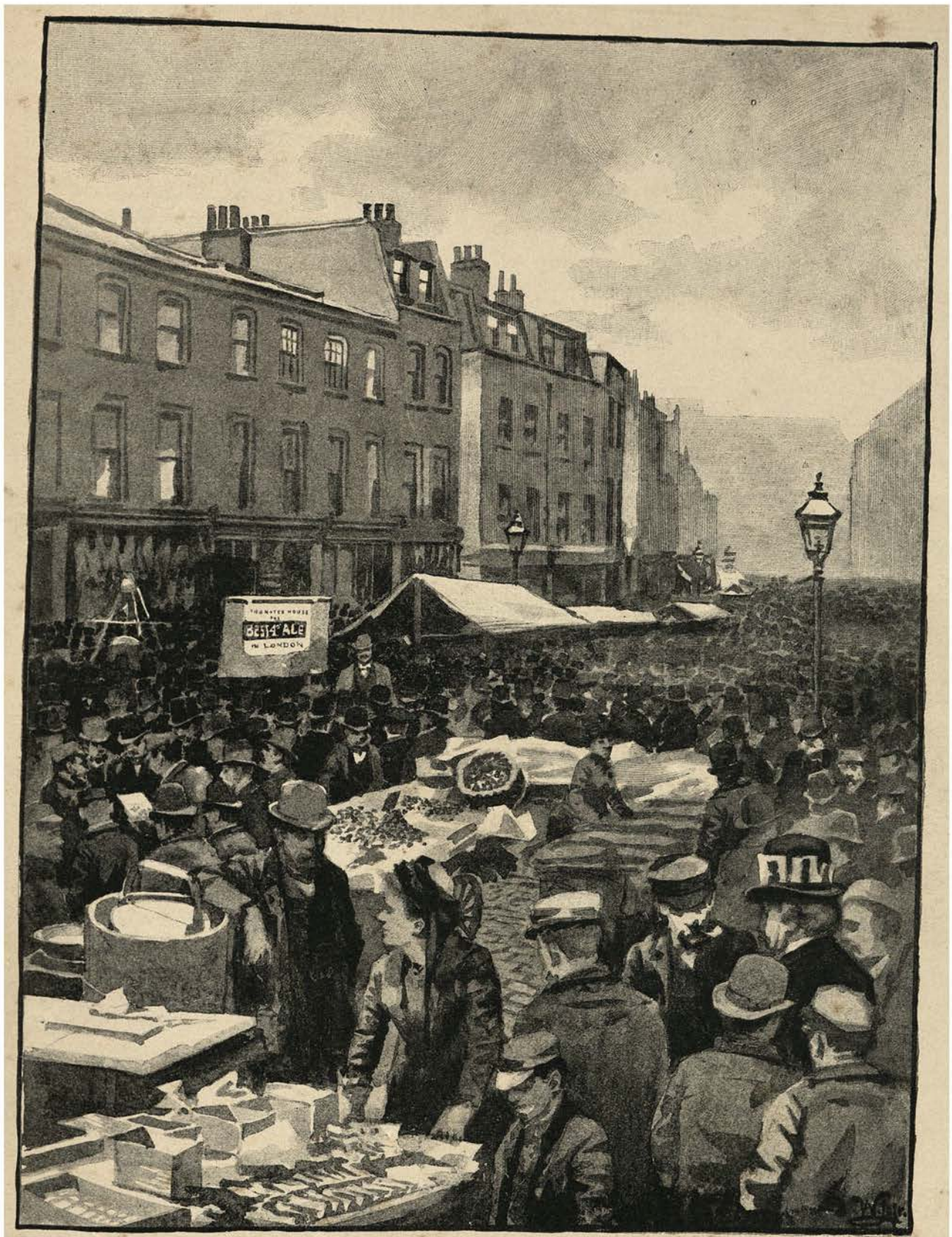
it bore at least two older names. The first time we hear of it, in a document which purports to belong to the period of the Mercian kings, but which is probably a forgery of the tenth or eleventh century, it is called Westgate. A little later it is Chamberlain's gate, and we are reminded that William the Chamberlain is mentioned in Domesday as owning a vineyard which must have been on one of the slopes just without the gate. Shortly after the opening of Aldgate the old gate of the Chamberlain became so ruinous that it had to be rebuilt, and, the former names being forgotten, it became the Newgate. The enlargement of St. Paul's eastward stopped the direct line of the Watling Street, and the road to Cheap led along a new thoroughfare from the gate. It is perhaps

worth while to remark here that the old Roman gate of Lincoln is, for some similar reason, no doubt, at present known as the Newport.

Ludgate and Newgate were prisons, the first for citizens only. The Newgate was built just about the time that Henry I gave Middlesex to the citizens, and it was at once appropriated for the use of offenders from that county. There are many complaints in early records as to its inconvenience. So far back as 1419 reference is made to it as "the heynouse gaol of Newgate." Ludgate had meanwhile also become "heynouse," so much so indeed that it was abolished as a prison, and city prisoners were sent to Newgate. People are, proverbially, never content, and among other complaints we read that "many citizens" and other "reputable persons" died after committal to Newgate, "who might have been living, it is said, if they had remained in Ludgate, abiding in peace

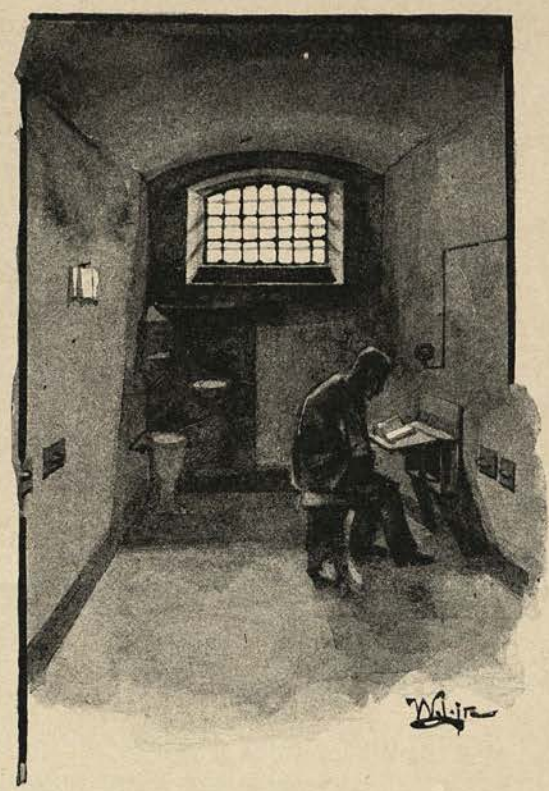


EXERCISE YARD IN OLD NEWGATE

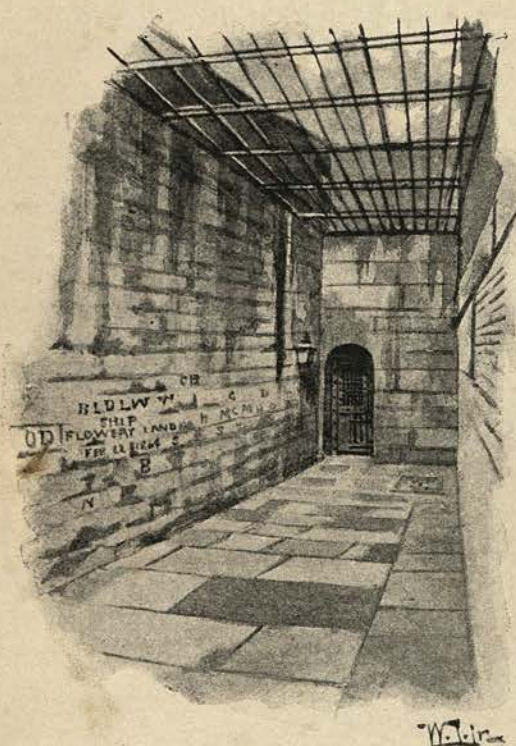


MIDDLESEX STREET (LATE PETTICOAT LANE) ON A SUNDAY MORNING

there." Whittington left money for the improvement of the prison, saying in his will "that every person is sovereignly bound to support and be tender of the lives of men." Newgate continued to exist as a prison till it was burnt by the Gordon rioters in 1780. Meanwhile the present prison had been begun a little to the southward, and was finished in 1783. The Surgeons' Hall, which stood in the Old Bailey, was now removed, and the present Sessions House, in part, erected on the site. Down to 1825 and later Newgate prison was in a wretched state, the humane exertions



NEWGATE—ONE OF THE CELLS IN WHICH A PRISONER AWAITS HIS TRIAL



NEWGATE—CRIMINALS' BURIAL GROUND

of Howard and of Mrs. Fry having for a long time failed to make much impression. The convicts were crowded like sheep in a pen. The keeper of the prison had to assist them at his own expense. As late as 1815 a visitor states that the women especially were but half clothed. A Sunday always elapsed between "Trial Friday" and "Execution Monday," and there are several views extant of the appearance of the interior of the chapel, with the condemned in a pew in the centre and

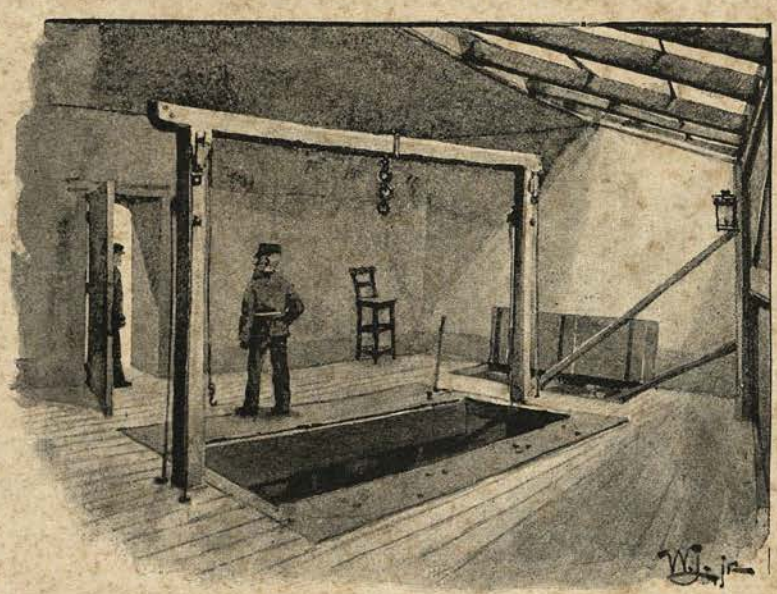
a coffin on the table before them. In Rowlandson's view, drawn in 1809, there are eleven convicts, two of them women. In 1817 some attempt was made to classify the prisoners, and about the same date the coffin was no longer placed on the chapel table.

The unhealthiness of prisoners must, in part at least, account for the severity of the criminal law. There was no alternative. A man condemned to long imprisonment was as surely condemned to death as if he had been sent straight to the gallows. Gaol fever soon made the sentences equal. Unfortunately innocent people often suffered with the guilty, and in 1750 the Lord Mayor, two of the judges, and some sixty other persons, caught infection at the Sessions and died of it. Three years later Lord George Gordon, whose followers had destroyed the old prison, died of this distemper in the new one.

There were several other gaols in and round the city. Howard in his famous book describes some of them. Bridewell, which has given its name to so many country houses of detention, stood near St. Bride's Church, and actually on the spot part of which is now covered by the vicarage of St. Bride's (designed by Mr. Basil Champneys). It was of the nature of a workhouse; but the secondaries — who are the deputies of the sheriffs, answering in some respects to the sub-sheriffs of counties — had each a "compter" or "counter"

NEWGATE—THE CONDEMNED CELL

under his charge. One of these stood till recently in Giltspur Street. It had been removed in 1791 from Wood Street, and served for debtors and misdemeanants. The second was in the Poultry. The meaning of the name is not very clear, but it is generally taken to signify that a person committed to the counter did not emerge till he had accounted for his debts and had "paid the uttermost farthing."



NEWGATE—THE GALLOWS

THE CITY CARLTON CLUB COFFEE ROOM

THE STOCK EXCHANGE

NO. 5 FENCHURCH AVENUE—MESSRS. ANDERSON, ANDERSON, AND CO.'S OFFICES
(ORIENT LINE OF ROYAL MAIL STEAMERS)

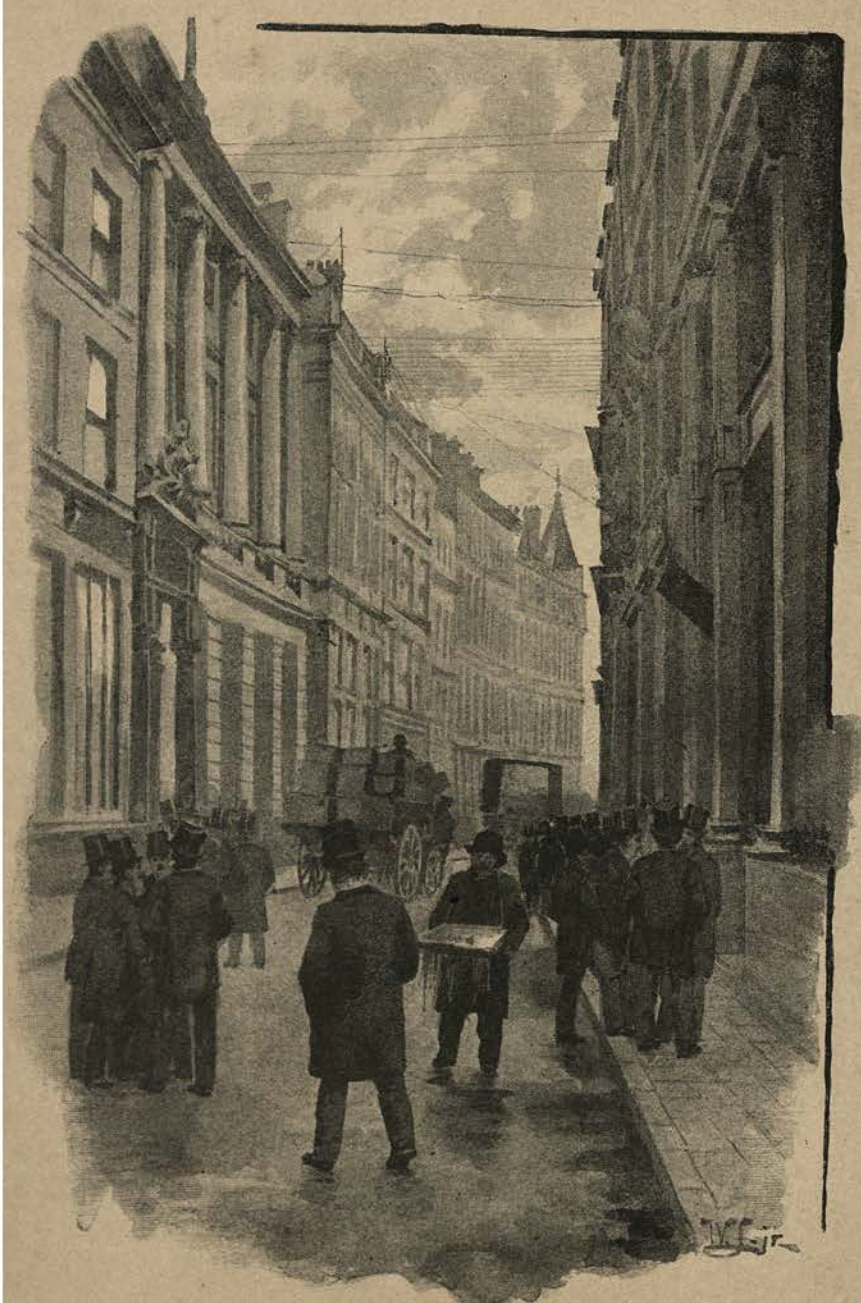
CHAPTER IV

COMMERCE

The Thames—The Conservancy—The New Weir—The Wantsum and the Stour—Lundenwic—The Easterlings—Wool and Gold—The Guilds—The Companies—The Jews in London—Trading Companies—The Goldsmiths—Banks—Lombards—The Greshams—The Bank of England—Architecture of the chief Banks.

THE early importance of London as a commercial centre can hardly be accounted for by any one fact, but it would seem as if a number of different causes acted together to bring it about. At a time when ships are of five and six thousand tons burden we can understand the advantages of such a port as we have in the estuary of the Thames. But a thousand years ago the ships that anchored at London Bridge might have sailed on to Teddington, many of them to Oxford. The Thames

was certainly favoured in this respect; but we want some other reason. We find accordingly that the freedom and security of the city counted for a great deal in the Middle Ages. So too it was an easy port to reach from the Low Countries and the mouth of the Elbe, which opened to it the way to the most important cities of the Hanseatic League.



MINCING LANE

Again, for ships going to France or to other ports down Channel the short cut through what is now practically dry ground between the mainland of Kent and the Isle of Thanet, rendered at least the first part of a voyage a very safe and easy performance for even the frailest craft. There were harbours of refuge farther on at Dover, at Hythe, and at Rye or Winchelsea, where ships could lie till the weather allowed of a short

NOS. 66 AND 67 CORNHILL

run to the opposite coast, or across the dreaded Bay of Biscay to Bordeaux. The Thames being thus a great highway, whether inland or away to the continent, it was jealously guarded by the citizens from a very early period, and the "Conservancy" is an ancient institution, until a recent period exclusively in the hands of the corporation, but taken from them in part by an Act of Parliament passed in 1857 for no adequate reason, beyond that spirit of fussiness which now and then agitates our legislators. This Conservancy dates beyond what is called "legal memory," or the reign of Richard I. Its jurisdiction extended to the Nore, or New Weir, a fishing-place at the mouth of the Medway, which we find first mentioned in the will of one Eadmer Anhænde, who left it to Rochester. It was with this Eadmer that Gundulf, the great Bishop of Rochester, lodged in London while he was superintending the building of the

APOTHECARIES' HALL, WATER LANE, BLACKFRIARS

MAGOG

Tower. From the Nore westward the Conservancy extends to Staines. We see somewhat similar jurisdictions on the Elbe, the Scheldt, and other large rivers leading to great cities. The port of London was defined in 665 to extend from London Bridge eastward to the Naze in Essex and the North Foreland in Kent. The passage by the Wantsum and the Stour to the open channel at Sandwich was for centuries of great importance to London. In some very ancient Kentish laws, generally attributed to Hlothære and Eadric, who lived toward the close of the seventh century, mention is made of Lundenwic. I have, in former volumes on London history, assumed with some hesitation that this means London. But though the name undoubtedly points to London as a great commercial centre, it is probable that it was actually borne by a quay or harbour on the Stour immediately opposite Sandwich, a place where the Kentish men came over to buy chattels from the London merchants who were on

CITY AUCTION ROOMS, GRACECHURCH STREET

their way across the Channel. Stonor exists no longer, except, I believe, as the name of a field, but Professor Burrows and other competent authorities place here the Lundenwic of Hlothære. But Beda not long afterwards speaks of London—this time there can be no mistake—as the emporium of many nations, and King Alfred, who translated Beda, renders emporium by Cheapstow. Probably while he thus named it, the Cheapstow of London lay empty and desolate, but on his re-colonisation, re-settlement, and re-fortification of the city, trade, we may be sure, returned to the empty quays at Billingsgate and Dowgate. Eadgar and Æthelred expressly mention in their edicts the miscellaneous character of the cargoes here landed.

So by degrees the trade grew in spite of the Danish invasions. Slaves were prohibited merchandise after 1008, and the establishment of a colony of German merchants on the Thames bank increased the regular traffic with the Elbe, and the punctual payments and good money of these "Easterlings" are still commemorated in our word "sterling" as applied to silver and gold.

THE COAL EXCHANGE, LOWER THAMES STREET

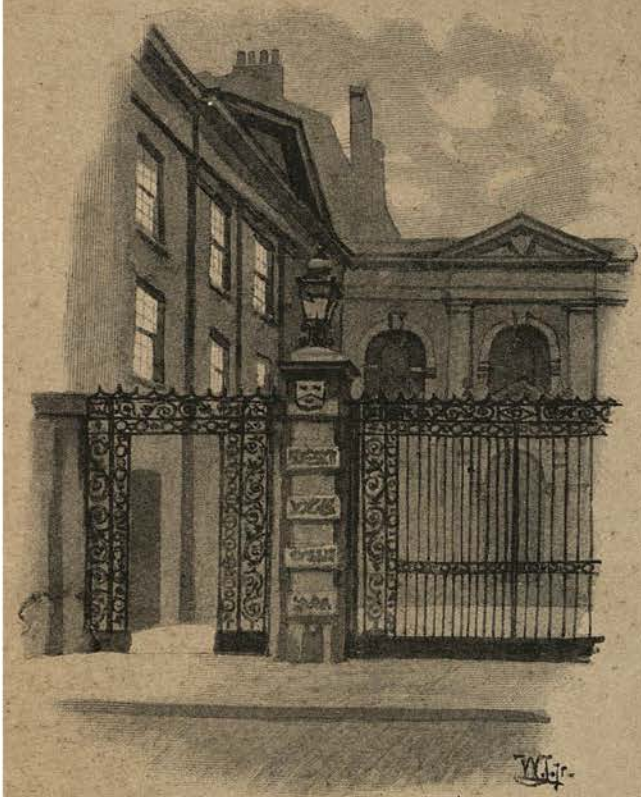
London must at that

time and for long after have been a polyglot place. The language of the Flemings from the mouth of the Rhine would not perhaps differ so much from the Old English of the native merchants, but the High Dutch, the German of the Easterlings, and the French of the Normans, must have been quite as common. Down to the time of King John, the treatment of foreigners was regulated on a simple principle. Men

FISHMONGERS' HALL, LONDON BRIDGE

of other nations were to be received in London as those nations received the men of London. In like manner English cities were offered reciprocal terms, London, nevertheless, asserting her supremacy as occasion offered.

The two employments, which in the Middle Ages brought wealth to London, were those connected with wool and those connected with the precious metals. As much cloth, we are told, was made in London



VINTNERS' HALL—ENTRANCE

as would clothe all Europe. The weavers were very powerful—too powerful indeed—and measures for repressing and dividing them were taken as early as the reign of King Henry II. They had formed themselves into a guild and were rich as well as powerful. But the governing body was richer, and John was very susceptible to the influence of wealth. In the reign of Henry III the weavers' guild had resolved itself into its component parts, and we have tailors, fullers, shearmen, cloth workers, and other guilds, of whom the tailors seem to have been the most powerful. For some reason with which we are not acquainted, they quarrelled with professors of the great rival art of the goldsmiths, and in 1226 a pitched battle took place between 500 men of either side fully armed. The tailors, it would seem, occupied the eastern part of the city, while the goldsmiths flourished in the

TALLOW CHANDLERS' HALL, DOWGATE HILL

GOLDSMITHS' HALL, FOSTER LANE

west, and "Goldsmiths' Row" in Cheap was one of the great sights of London. Between them we find the mercers, who seem to have had a kind of arcade or bazaar near where St. Mary le Bow Church stands now. The names of the streets which gradually grew up all over the market-place enable us to localise the fish-mongers, money-changers, milk, honey, poultry, and wood sellers, the cord-wainers or shoemakers, the hosiers, the ironmongers, the dealers in bread, in fruit, in salt fish, in hay and grass, and in pattens or clogs.

All these trades had guilds among them, which bound their members to perform certain religious exercises at stated periods, and to meet and feast

BAKERS' HALL, HARP LANE

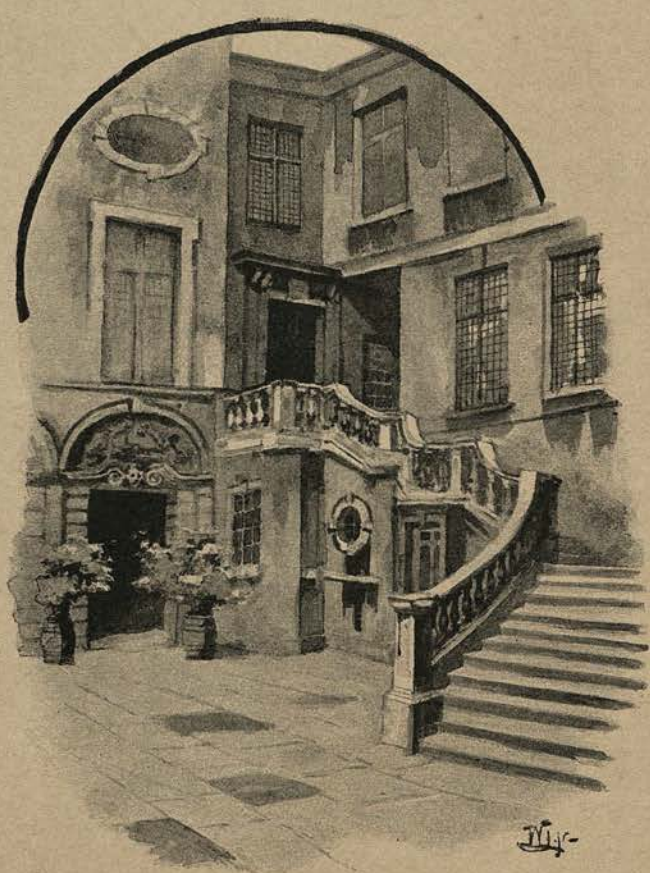
CHEAPSIDE—A RAINY DAY

ENTRANCE TO MERCERS' HALL, CHEAPSIDE

There is not a single guild now in the city.

Edward III first chartered companies, though as early as the reign of Henry III the trade guilds of the cappers, the parish clerks, and the "burillers" or cloth measurers, are said to have been recognised in some way by the king. The first charters of Edward III were given to the goldsmiths, the linen-armourers, whose company the king himself

together on certain days. These guilds by degrees lost their primitive character, and became merged in the chartered companies, some of which consisted of the men of a single guild, some of two or three. Finally, the guilds, which had by that time become wholly religious, were abolished by Act of Parliament in 1552, and their estates were either forfeited or were bought in by the companies. When people speak nowadays of the "guilds," meaning the companies, they commit a complete anachronism.



BREWERS' HALL, ADDLE STREET

entered, the grocers, fishmongers, the drapers, and others. Twelve companies commonly take precedence of all others. Though the mercers were not incorporated till the reign of Richard II, they take precedence of the goldsmiths, linen-armourers, and other older companies, the grocers ranking next, the drapers after them, then the fishmongers, and the goldsmiths fifth.

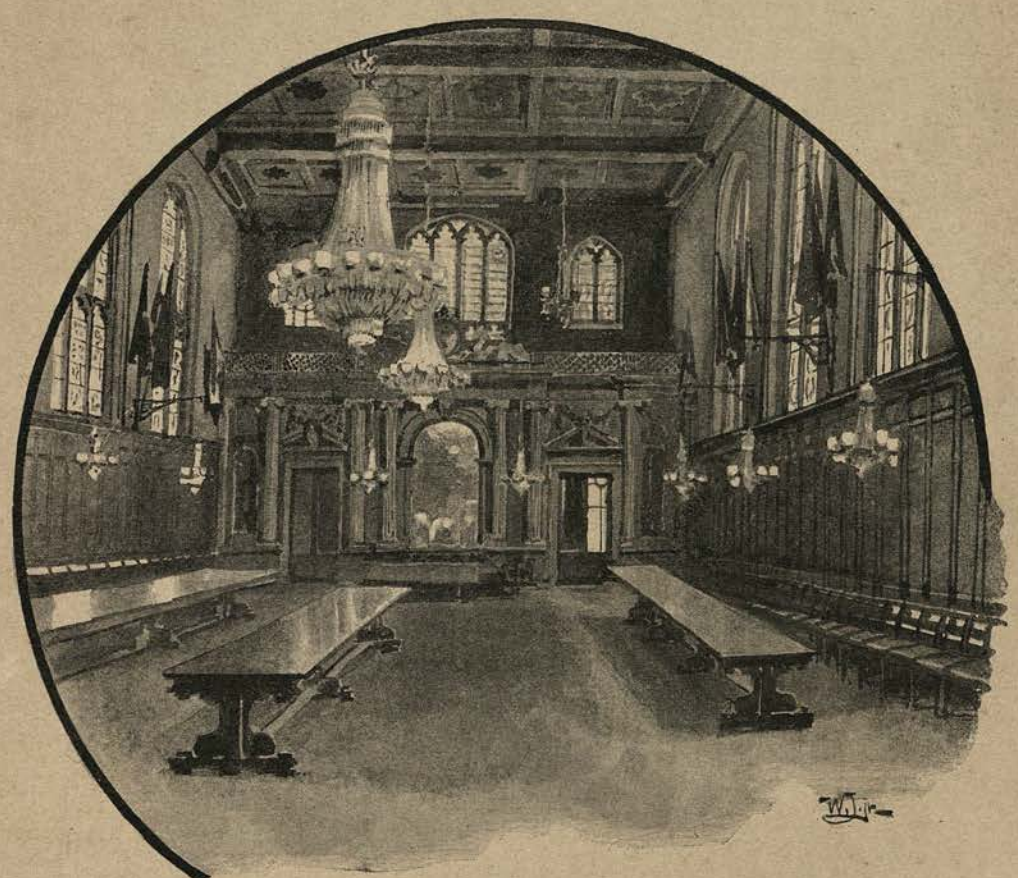
These companies, though at first they did much to regulate trade, were not themselves traders. They did not in any way resemble the modern limited or unlimited "Co." By degrees many of them drifted away altogether from the trade whose name they bore, but the goldsmiths, the fishmongers, the plumbers, the stationers, and a few more, still endeavour to deserve their titles. As a rule, however, they are the trustees of large endowments for charitable purposes, and administer them admirably. In the reign of James I many of them took up lands in Ulster, and when, under the pressure of a transient and misguided wave of public opinion, they sold some of their estates, the unfortunate tenants found out too late what a foolish

DRAPERS' HALL, THROGMORTON STREET

exchange they had made. We may all remember the absurd attempt of some agitators to force the companies to keep up the charitable gifts they had made to the tenants, while they still held their estates.

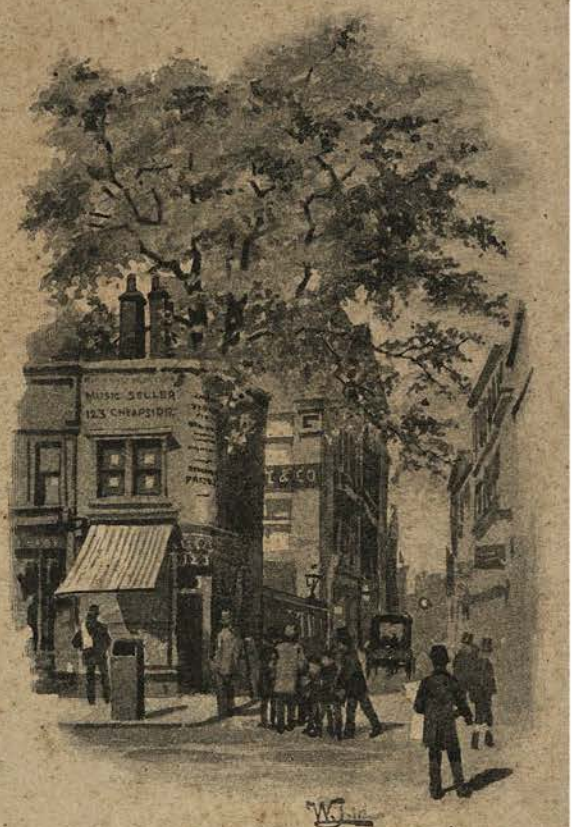
The expulsion of the Jews by Edward must have been a blow to the prosperity of the city. They are always said to have come into London at the time of the Norman Conquest, and their place of residence, the Jewry, still called after them, is close to the supposed site of the king's palace. They were looked upon and treated as the king's special property, and their history here, and at other places in England where they had settlements, is a long record of systematic plunder on the part of their master, and of slaughter and ill-treatment on the part of their fellow-subjects.

Many interesting particulars have of late years been brought to



MERCHANT TAYLORS' HALL, THREADNEEDLE STREET

light as to the Jewry and its inhabitants by the researches of Mr. Joseph Jacobs and Mr. M. D. Davis, both of whom have favoured me with interesting notes on the subject. Mr. Jacobs has succeeded in constructing a plan of the Jewry, and in identifying the sites of the dwellings of the principal families. Mr. Davis has translated many Hebrew title-deeds and other documents. It is therefore quite possible both to know where and how



CHEAPSIDE—UNDER THE TREE

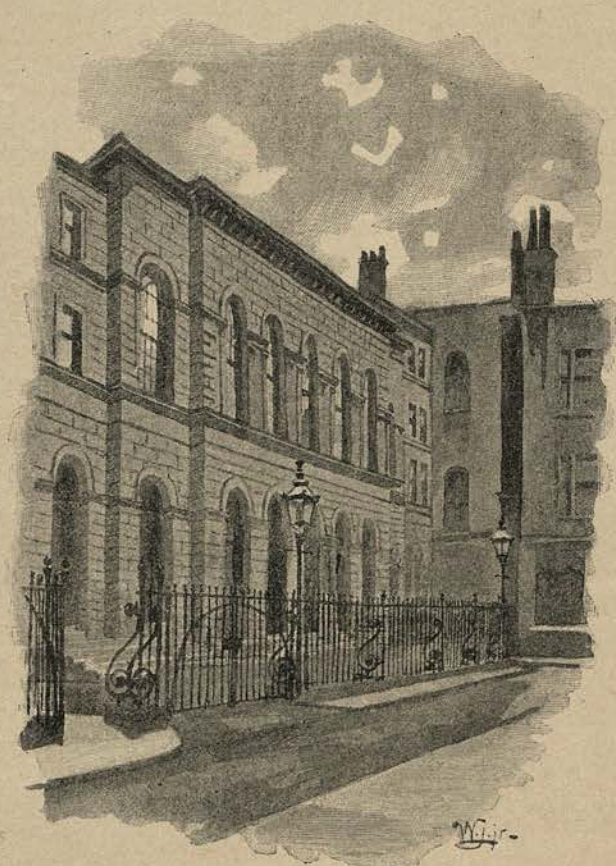
BARBERS' HALL, MONKWELL STREET

they lived, and to trace several generations and their connections in York, Lincoln, and other cities. The Jewry seems to have been on the north side of Cheap; the streets occupied being Lade Lane, Cateaton Street, now Gresham Street, and a corner of Lothbury; while Lawrence Lane on the west and the Old Jewry on the east formed two other boundaries. The chief synagogue was near St. Lawrence's Church, and a

OLD CLOTHES MARKET, HOUNDSDITCH

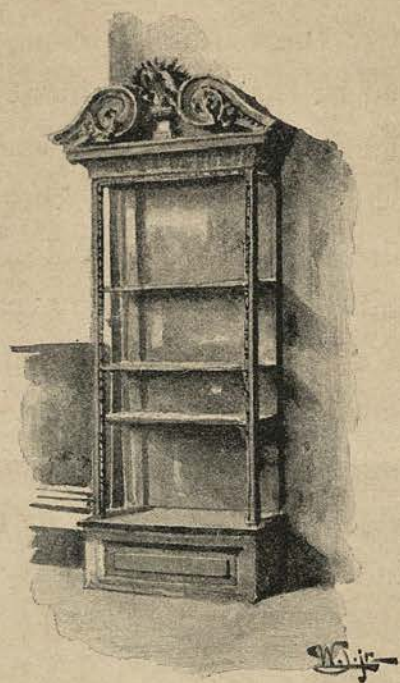
SIR ROWLAND HILL

second existed at the corner of Lothbury and Old Jewry. Mr. Jacobs has identified the actual sites of the houses of some twenty wealthy Jews, and the fact that after the expulsion some of these houses were occupied by the most eminent citizens goes to show the truth of the remark of Ralph of Coggeshale that Jews' houses were like kings' palaces. Two fine examples survive at Lincoln, but in London all have perished. The Jews were probably the first Londoners to build in stone instead of timber. Mr. Jacobs is inclined to derive the name Backwell Hall—a name which, in one form or another, is very ancient—from the former existence of a synagogue in what is now Guildhall Yard; and more particularly from the bath for women which used to be attached to every synagogue. As to the Old Jewry itself, there seems to be good ground for believing that it was so called even before the final expulsion of the Jews, for we find the king granting away some of their houses to his relations and favourites, and can almost with certainty identify their houses as being in that particular street. It had thus before the expulsion become the old, that is, the former Jewry. Mr. Jacobs makes

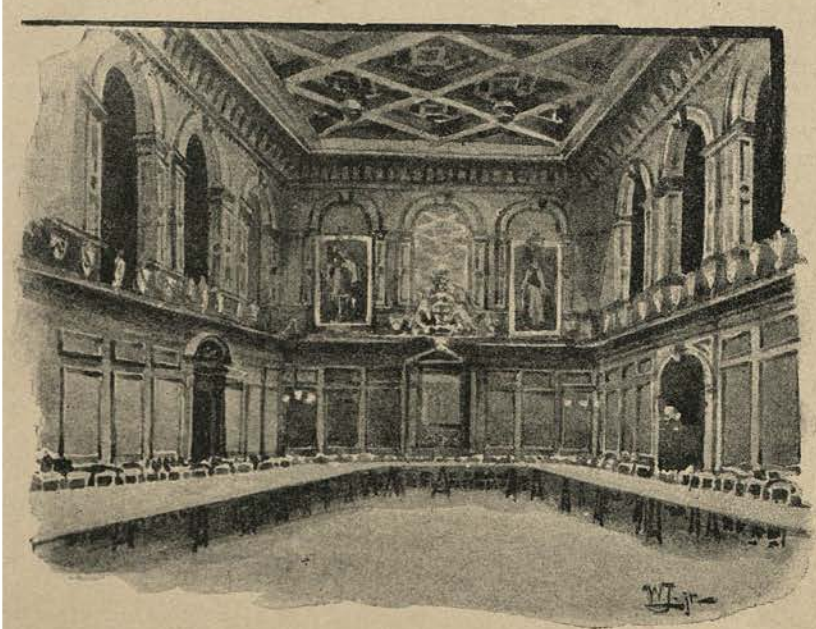


JEWS' SYNAGOGUE, GREAT ST. HELEN'S

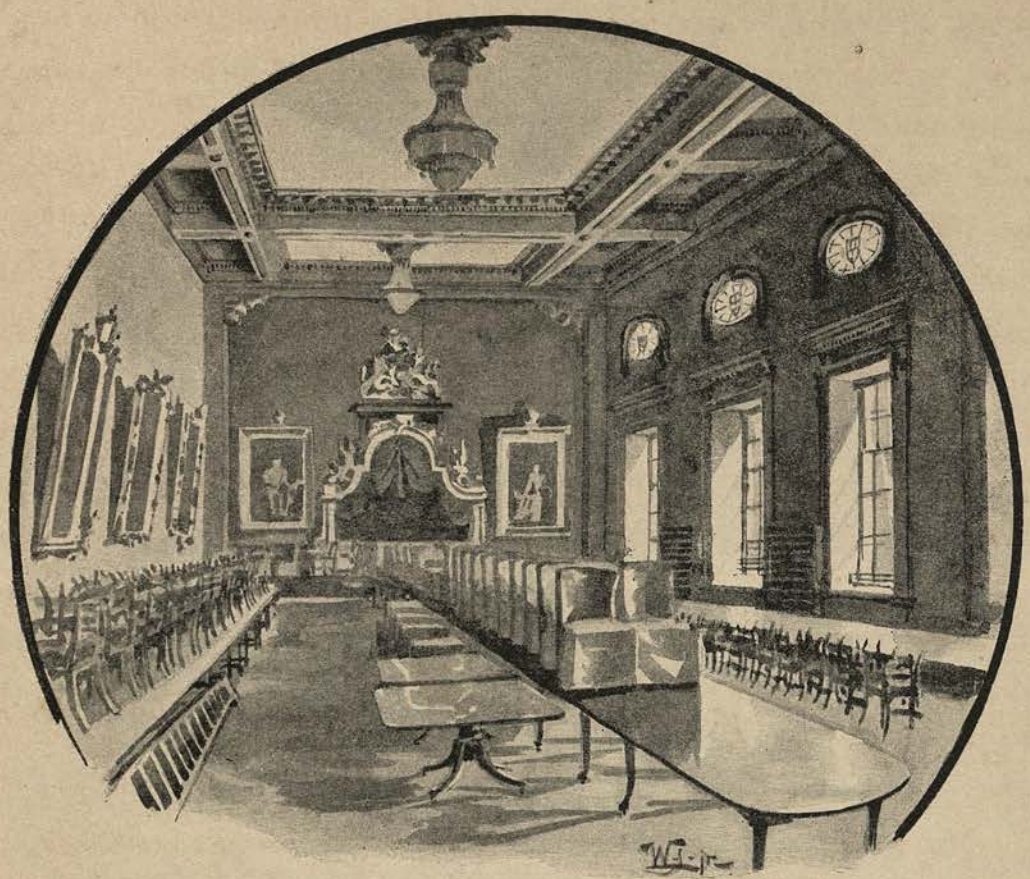
another interesting suggestion. Huggin Lane bears a name which has always puzzled topographers. Mr. Jacobs would derive it from the Hagin family, whose house was at the corner of Wood Street. There is one more Jewish name in London. Jewin Street, formerly Jewin Garden, marks the site of their burial-place. Meanwhile certain trading companies were also established. The model of the Steelyard was taken for establishments on the continent, and that of Bruges in Flanders was specially flourishing. These merchant-adventurers obtained charters, and were in some cases bodies of great power and influence. The East India Company subsisted till very lately, and a Borneo and an African company have recently been established. Queen Elizabeth and her minister Cecil, ably seconded by Gresham, got rid of the foreign Steelyard with its privileges, and kept trade in the hands of the citizens, and from that period the unquestionable supremacy of London in commerce may be said to date. In this policy Elizabeth only followed the example



COURT BUFFET IN STATIONERS' HALL



HABERDASHERS' HALL, GRESHAM STREET



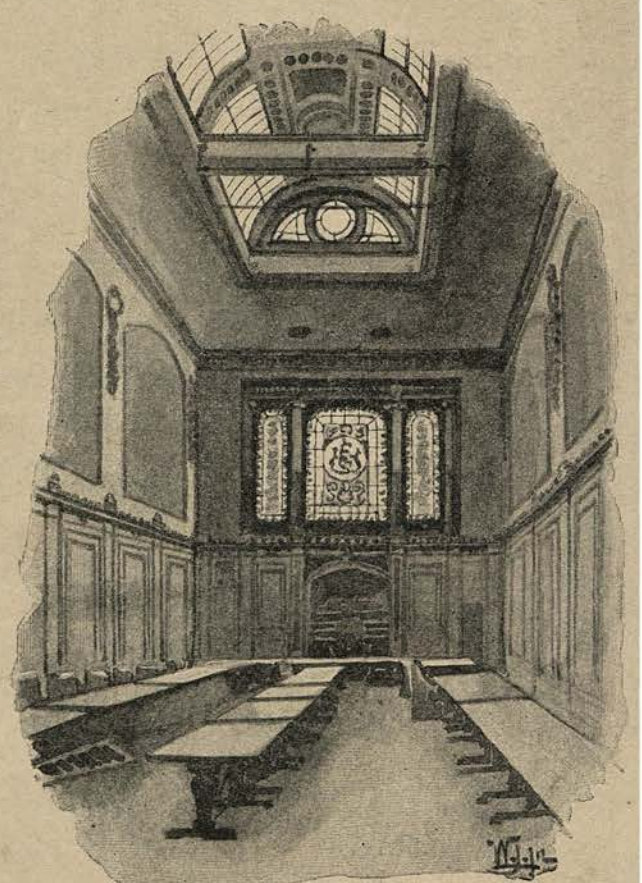
GROCERS' HALL, PRINCES STREET

of her ancestor Edward IV, who had greatly encouraged his subjects to increase their exports. The destruction of the Spanish Armada established the English naval power, and ships began to sail from London to many distant places. The growth of the American colonies was followed by the West India settlement, and that by the gradual conquest of India; and this slow but sure progress of English commercial enterprise was, owing to the power of the English fleet, uninterrupted even by the great wars which concluded with Waterloo in 1815. The addition of Australia to the British possessions abroad has given a fresh impetus to the London shipping trade, and at least eighty out of every hundred ships that thread their way through the

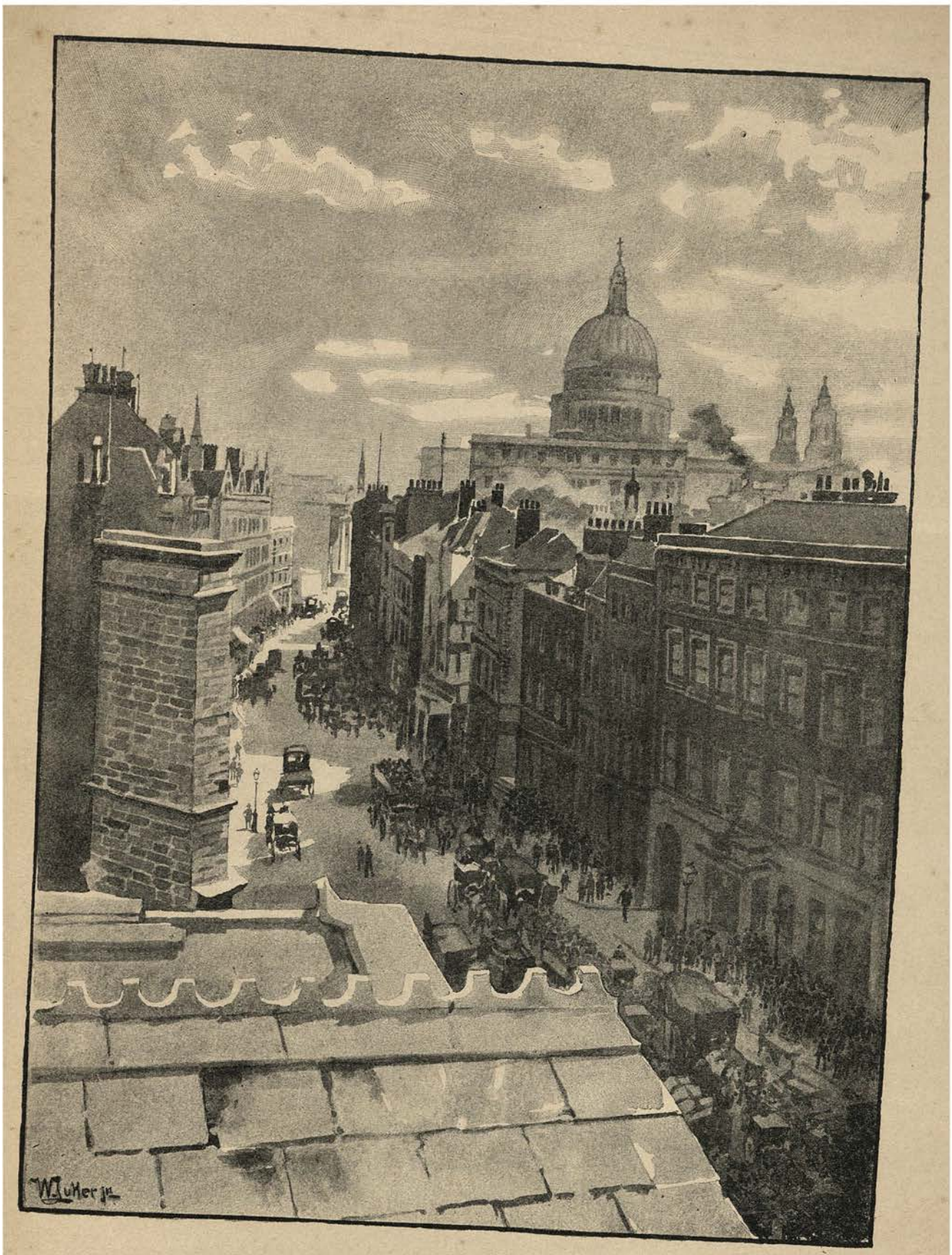
"ONE PENNY BUYS A NICE GOLD WATCH AND CHAIN"

Suez Canal go from or come to the district superintended by that ancient body, the Thames Conservancy.

Of the older trades few are now active in the city, the suburbs having absorbed some of them, and others, like that of the founders, having migrated to distant parts of the country. But the goldsmiths still have their headquarters in Aldersgate; their lineal descendants, the bankers, occupy the foremost place in modern London, of whose streets many palatial places of business form the chief ornaments. The banks of London began with the goldsmiths. We read of one Teodric, that he was a London goldsmith with country estates, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and Otto, another of the trade, is also named in Domesday-book. Very little later, about 1115, we find a *monetarius* named Brichmar in a list of aldermen. Otto's descendants were of the same profession, and engraved dies for the Mint. As late as the reign of

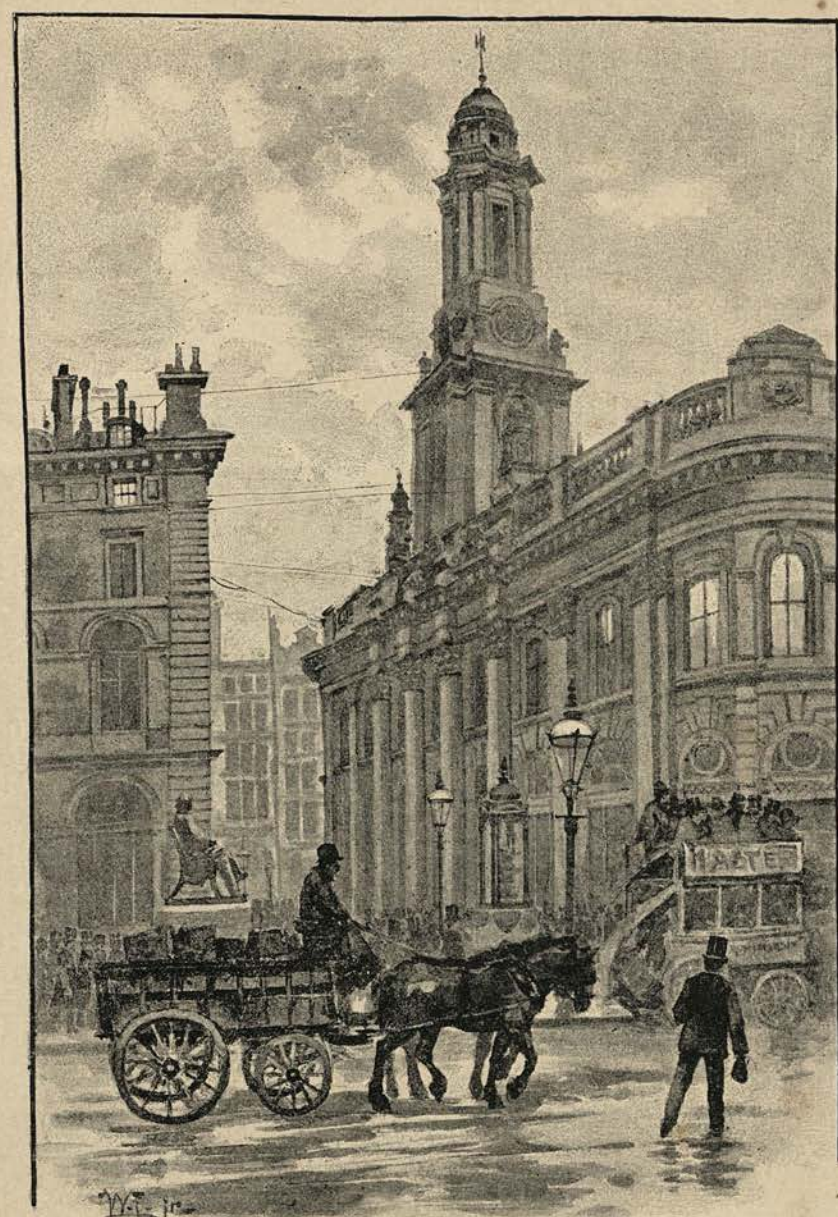


SKINNERS' HALL, DOWGATE HILL



ALDERSGATE STREET

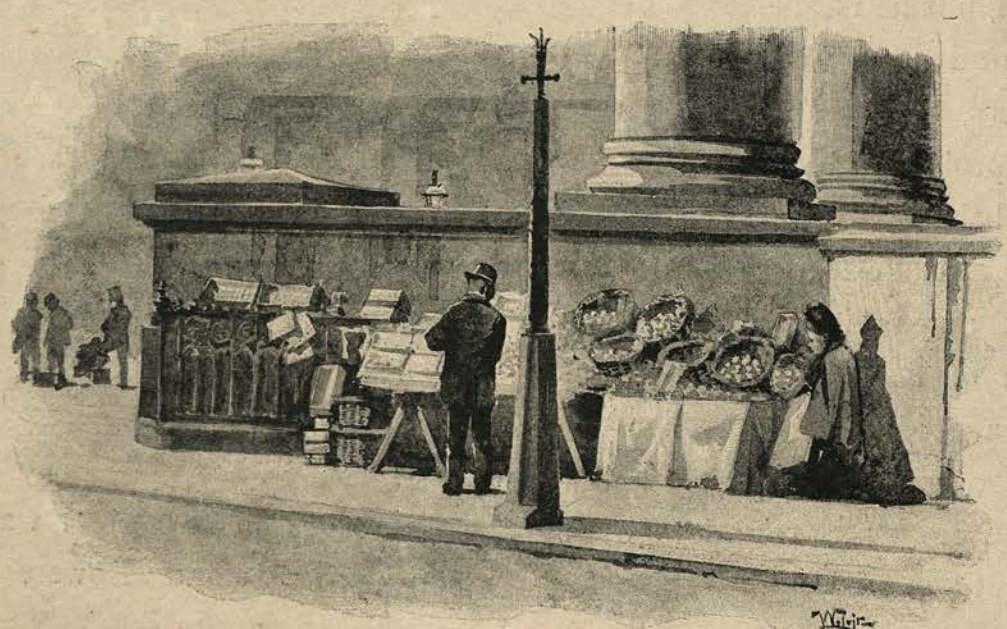
Henry III, Mr. Price tells us in his *Handbook of London Bankers*, that Thomas Fitz Otho claimed by inheritance the broken dies of the Mint. In the thirteenth century we come to Ade, who was goldsmith to Edward I; and we must not overlook the alderman, Ralph Flael, who was chief of the *gilda aurifabrorum*, and owned the ward of Aldersgate in the previous century. The first mayor of London, Henry Fitz Ailwin, is often said to have been a goldsmith, but he is also claimed by the drapers, and it is very probable he did not belong to any trade. Rokesley, a great mayor in the reign of Edward I, was a goldsmith or banker, and lived in Old Change; Farringdon, whose name survives in two great wards; Barentine, who built the old Goldsmiths' Hall, and Bowes, who



BACK OF THE ROYAL EXCHANGE

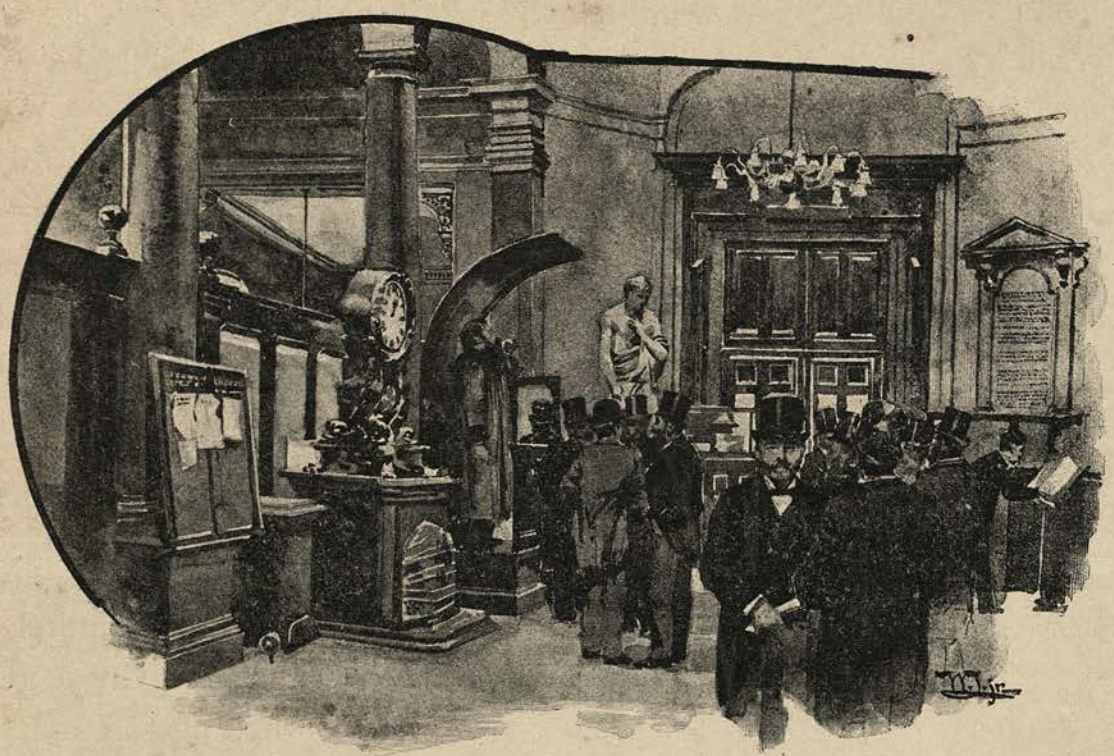
flourished in the Tudor period, were among the eminent goldsmiths whose names we know; and very shortly after the accession of the Stuarts, we begin to find the names of a new class of goldsmiths, those who kept "running cashes," and were what we term bankers. They had been preceded in this branch by some foreigners, whose place of residence is still marked by the name of Lombard Street. The Italian houses of Corsini, Frescobaldi, and others had great dealings in wool with the English abbeys, and some of them acted as agents for the Pope. After the tyrannical expulsion of the Jews by Edward I, they became the great money-lenders. For example, one year Edward I assigned to the Frescobaldi of Florence the whole Irish revenue for a year, in payment for a loan of

STATUE OF GEORGE PEABODY, ROYAL EXCHANGE



FRUIT STALL AT CORNER OF ROYAL EXCHANGE

THE THAMES AT SOUTHWARK



"LLOYD'S," ROYAL EXCHANGE

£11,000; and the same firm obtained from Edward II £56,500 in payment of his father's debts. On the other hand, Edward III was never able to repay the loans he had received from the Peruzzi and the Bardi, who, in consequence, became bankrupts. From that time the English bankers begin to come to the front, and many London merchants had dealings more or less extensive with the Royal Exchequer. Henry V borrowed at home what he required for his French wars, and Edward IV and Henry VII, by their commercial policy and by increasing the royal credit, did much to foster the growth of London wealth.

The great house of Gresham began to come to the front in the reign of Henry VII. Exchange Court in Lombard Street marks the site of a place of business established in imitation of the bourses of

foreign mercantile cities, and, like some of them, its custodians had a hereditary office. We first hear of the existence of an Exchange in the time of Edward I. In the reign of Henry VII the first Gresham was "the King's Exchanger," and his son and successor, Thomas, evidently a very far-sighted man, was one of the first London merchants who sent ships to trade with India. The Royal Exchange which Queen Elizabeth formally opened was an expansion of the bourse principle, and was entirely due to Gresham, who, among other reforms and improvements, was the first to suggest that loans should be obtained by the sovereign within the kingdom and not from foreigners. He also successfully advocated the abolition of the Steelyard. He had been agent for the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp, and had

LOMBARD STREET

THE CUSTOM HOUSE

good reasons to urge for the views he put before Cecil. English merchandise, he said, should be carried in English ships, and no more privileges should be conceded to the foreigners of the Steelyard. The struggle was precipitated when a tax was imposed on their exports and imports. The Hanse towns imposed a similar tax on English traders, and Cecil took the opportunity of withdrawing all the special privileges of the Steelyard, which was finally suppressed in 1598.

GRESHAM CLUB, KING WILLIAM STREET

Gresham's house, "at the sign of the Grasshopper," his family crest, stood in Lombard Street, where is now No. 68, the bank of Messrs. Martin and Co. It is stated to have been the house of Matthew Shore, whose wife, Jane, figures unpleasantly in the annals of Edward IV and Richard III. Duncombe and Kent conducted the business of the Grasshopper in 1677, and the name of the firm varied. The first Martin entered it at the beginning of the

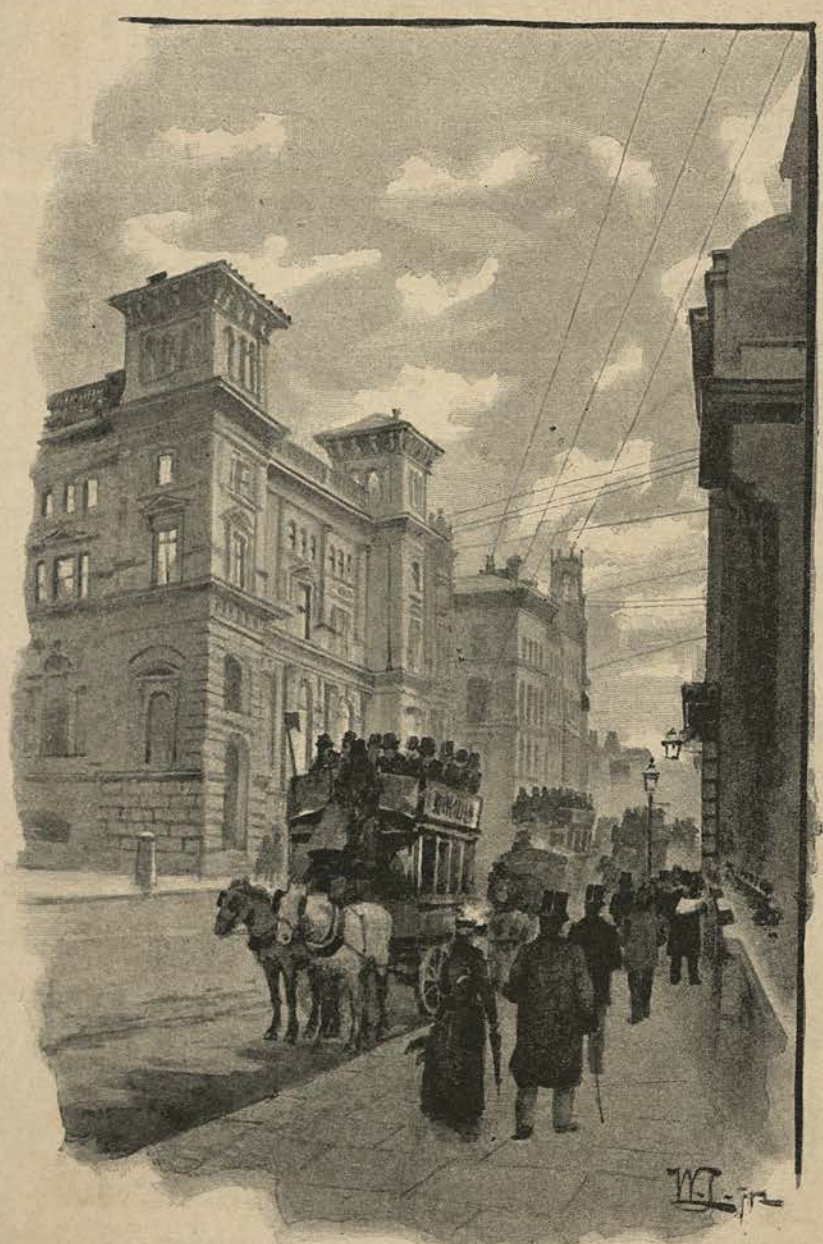
MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE

eighteenth century. In 1794 the house was rebuilt.

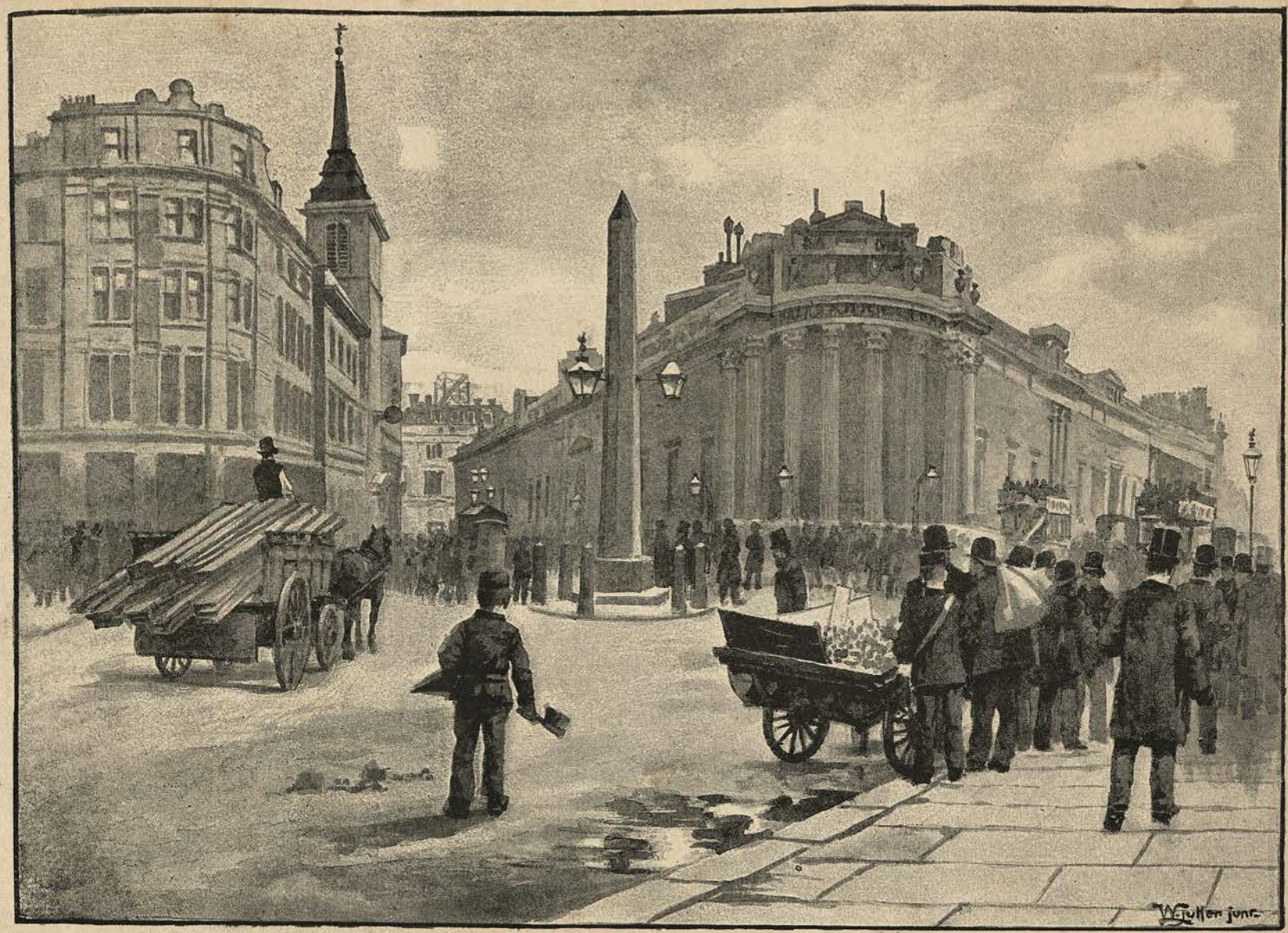
Banking made great strides after the fire of 1666; and many of the wealthiest houses were founded about that time. Charles II dealt a heavy blow at their prosperity by closing the Exchequer. Charles I had

SIGN OF THE "FOX," 24 LOMBARD STREET

finally ruined his cause by seizing £200,000 which the bankers of his time had deposited for safety in the Tower; but the Stuarts, like the Bourbons, learnt nothing by experience, and in 1672 Charles II seized Treasury deposits to the amount of £1,300,000. One banker alone, Sir Robert Viner, lost £416,000, but had as compensation an annuity out of the excise. Viner was the goldsmith who made the regalia, now in the Tower. Another great banker, Backwell, was



LAW COURTS BRANCH OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND, FLEET STREET

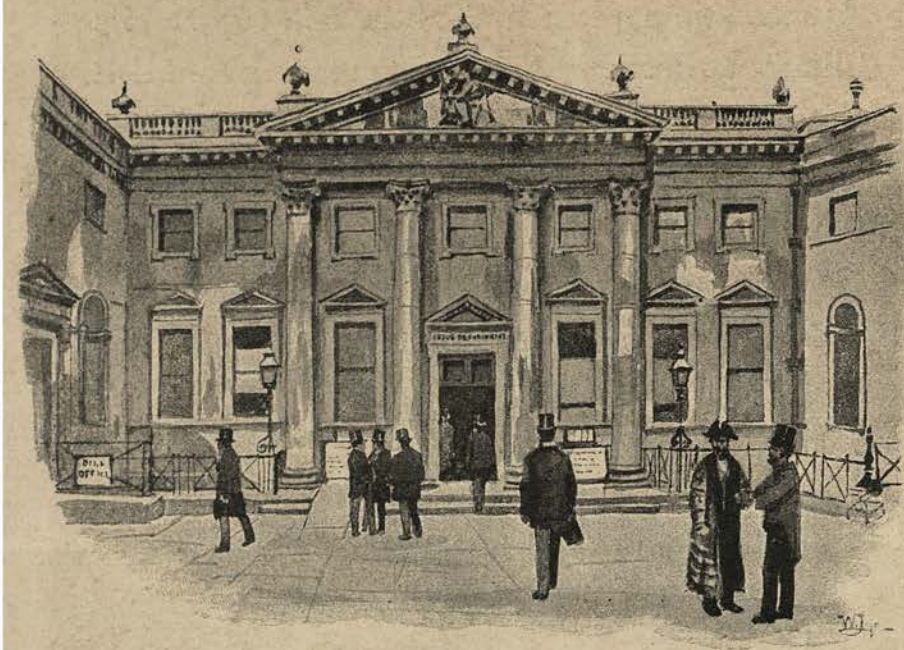


THE BANK OF ENGLAND, NORTH-WEST CORNER

ruined, and retiring to Holland on a pension, died there in 1679. His sons, however, joining Child's, are reckoned among the founders of that prosperous and now ancient house, for a further account of which I may refer the reader to Mr. Price's *Handbook*, already quoted. He mentions five houses as still extant whose predecessors kept "running cashes" in 1677. Of these, Child's is in Fleet Street, the first house on the right as you enter the city; Hoare's, No. 37 in the same street, is marked by the "Golden Bottle," originally set up in Cheapside; Stock's, now Barnett's, is at the Black Horse in Lombard Street, now No. 62; and Williams's, now Willis's, at the Crown, No. 76 in the same street.

In 1694 London banking entered on a new phase. The Bank of England was opened at Grocers' Hall in the Poultry. It encountered great opposition at first. Child's and Hoare's united to break it without success, and notwithstanding the loss of its chief promoter, Godfrey, who was killed at the siege of Namur when attending William III with money, and notwithstanding also its having on one occasion in 1696 actually to close its doors, it grew and prospered, and moved into a new building in 1734. This was in Threadneedle Street, which has ever since been its headquarters, and the "old lady of Threadneedle Street" is famous all over the world. The name of the street is said, with great prob-

FOUNTAIN COURT IN THE BANK OF ENGLAND

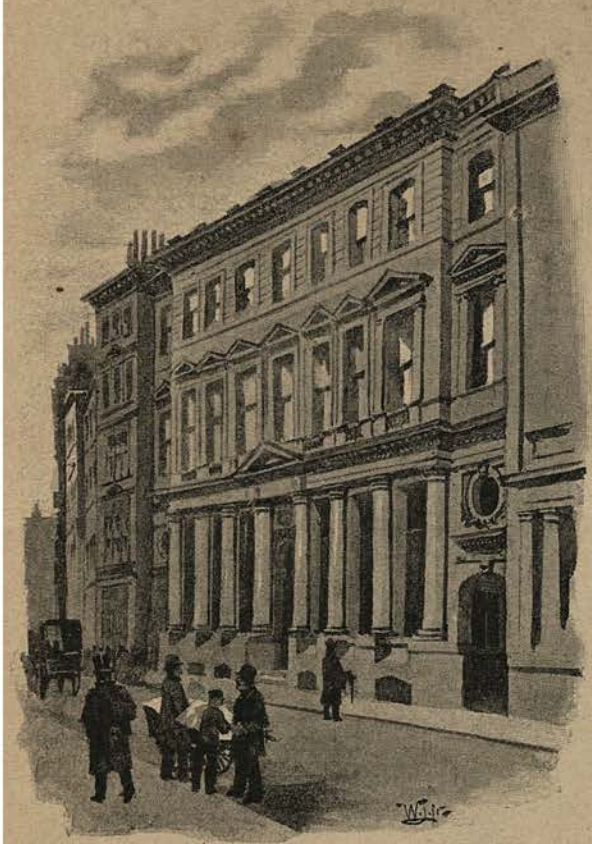


FIRST COURT IN THE BANK OF ENGLAND

ability, to be derived from a tavern called, in compliment to the Merchant Taylors, whose hall is at the eastern end, the Three Needles. The first bank was a comparatively modest building, with a neat Ionic front of two storeys rising from a well-rusticated basement, designed by Sampson, the northern face of which may still be seen; but it soon grew too small for the requirements of business, and the present long low front, which covers nearly the whole parish of St. Christopher, of which the churchyard (the church having been taken down), now forms one of the interior courts, was designed and erected by Sir Robert Taylor in 1786, and completed in later years by Sir John Soane. Taylor's buildings round the churchyard of St. Christopher's are much and deservedly admired. They are in the Corinthian style. The exterior as we see it

ROTHSCHILDS' BANK, ST. SWITHIN'S LANE

THE BANK OF ENGLAND AND ROYAL EXCHANGE



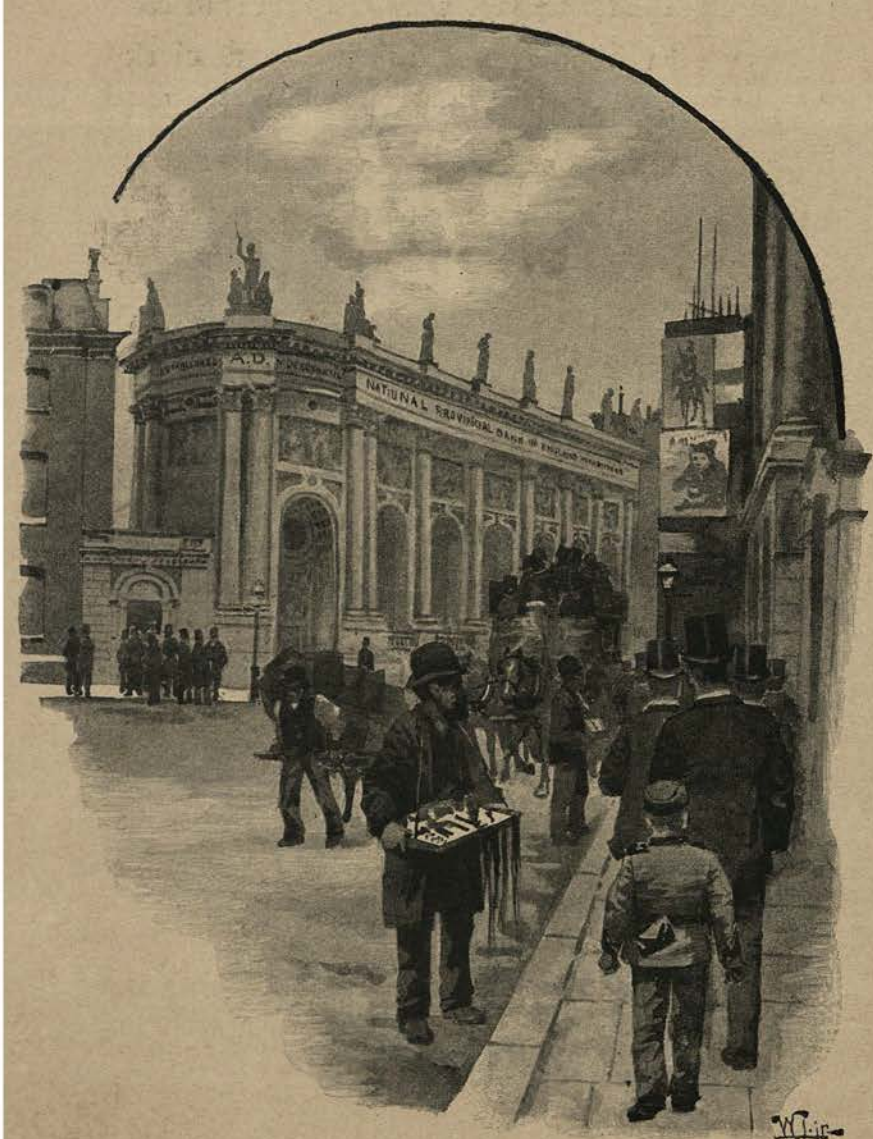
LLOYDS' BANK, LOMBARD STREET

remains were laid in an ordinary cemetery they would be dug up by the resurrectionists.

As the Bank of England is the greatest, so it is the most beautiful of the city banks. Since the removal of Temple Bar, Child's, which it adjoined, has been rebuilt in a style I cannot admire, the architect having fallen into the very common mistake of supposing that an excess of ornais Soane's, and was built in the years after 1788. The semicircular group of pillars at the north-western corner, facing Lothbury and Prince's Street, forms one of the most pleasing architectural effects in London. The Church of St. Christopher was taken down in 1781, the last person to be interred in the graveyard being a clerk named Jenkins, who was six feet six inches in height, and whose relations were afraid that if his

BARINGS' BANK, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN

ment will make an otherwise ugly design ornamental. The two banks next to it—that of Messrs. Gosling, with the three squirrels in the window, and that of Messrs. Hoare, with its golden bottle—are very plain; but nearly opposite to them the Law Courts branch of the Bank of England forms a striking feature in the view along Fleet Street. It is by Sir Arthur Blomfield, and resembles a little too much an Italian country villa, not having the plain dignity suitable for a town house. The chief banks are in and near Lombard Street; but though a good many of them have been recently rebuilt, their style, which might have made this ancient thoroughfare into a street of palaces, comparable to Pall Mall or the Via Nuova in Genoa, has only succeeded in disfiguring it. The chief offenders, in my opinion at least, are among the most costly, as, for example, the block in which Messrs. Robarts' bank is situate, that which contains the Credit Lyonnais, and the new buildings of the



NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK OF ENGLAND, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN

London and County. If the handsome front of the last-named company at Knightsbridge could have been transferred here it would have adorned the whole street. Two of the new houses are fairly good. At the corner of Birchin Lane, the London quarters of the Commercial Bank of Scotland are spoilt by a mean attic storey; but the two lower storeys in polished red and gray granite are fine. Messrs. Lloyds' is, like the last named, in two orders, Tuscan-Doric and Ionic, and has a good deal of dignity. In Bishopsgate Within we have on opposite sides of the street two typical examples. On the west side is one of the most gorgeous fronts in the city, covering the site of Gresham's house. Gorgeous as it is, I cannot say a single word in its favour. All the ornament in Europe would not give the design dignity or proportion. On the eastern side is a very different building, the bank of Messrs. Baring, very plain, in red brick,

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET

exquisitely proportioned. This is by a master whose works are unfortunately much too rare, Mr. Norman Shaw, and is well worthy of his reputation. The banking-house of Messrs. Dimsdale and Fowler, in Cornhill, is plain but not unpleasing. Messrs. King's, No. 65, has been rebuilt since Thackeray wrote his famous *Roundabout Papers* while looking out on St. Peter's Church. Of the style of the new house the less we say the better. It is one of the wonders of modern life that if an architect has to design a building which is to stand near one of the masterpieces of a former age he endeavours to show how far he can go in the opposite direction. The new buildings in Whitehall dwarf and overtop the chapel of Inigo Jones. The Aquarium stands opposite Westminster Abbey. The new Mercers' Hall is near the Mansion House. The offices of the Bible Society are between St. Andrew's and St. Bennet's. Comment is needless.

INTERIOR OF BARINGS' BANK

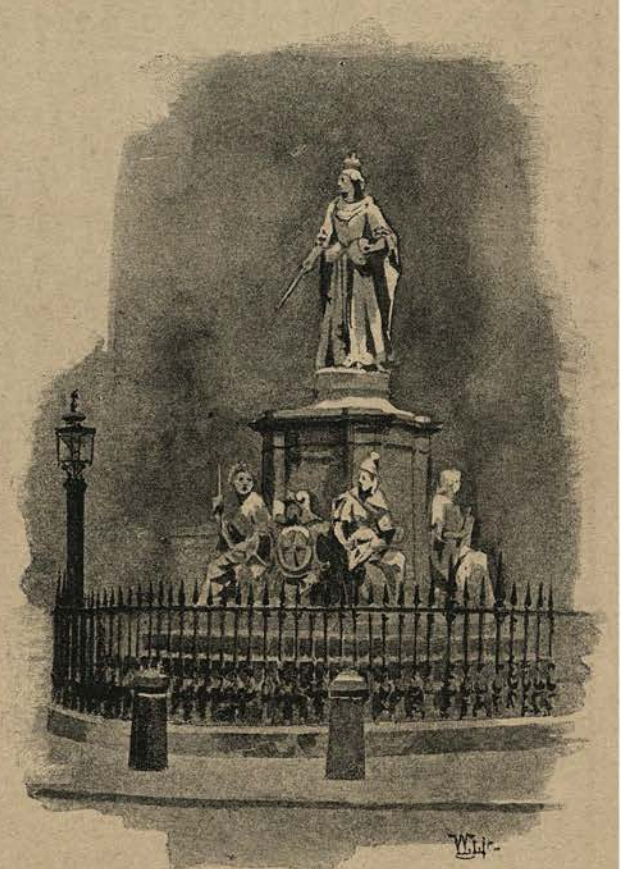
ON CHANGE—ROYAL EXCHANGE

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCHES

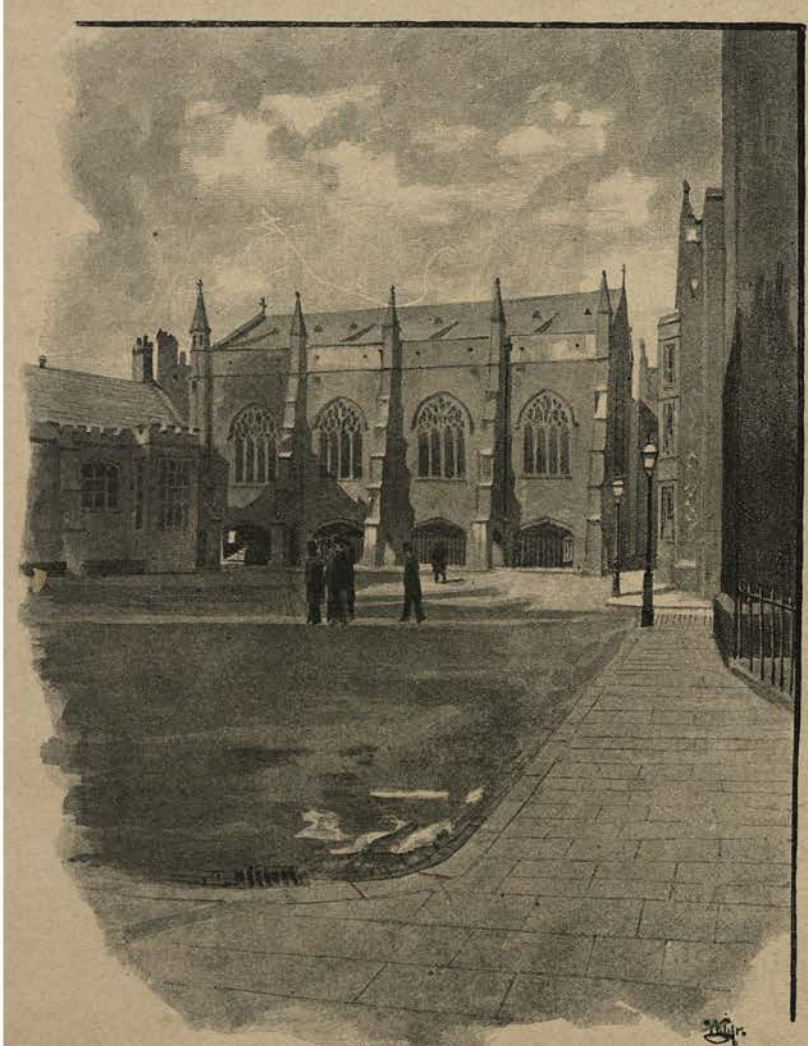
Parochial Names—Their Meaning—The Old Churches—St. Bartholomew—St. Giles—St. Ethelburga—St. Helen—St. Andrew Undershaft—St. Katherine Cree—All Hallows' Barking—St. Olave, Hart Street—Wren's Churches—St. Paul's—St. Stephen, Walbrook—St. Antholin—The Steeples.

LONDON contains some of the most beautiful churches in the world, and forms in itself a complete museum of English ecclesiastical art. We have the grand heavy Norman style in St. Bartholomew's, All Hallows' Barking, the Temple Church, and, could we but see it, in the crypt of St. Mary le Bow. We have the Early English or first Pointed in St. Saviour's, Southwark, St. Ethelburga, and the eastern part of the Temple Church. The Perpendicular style may be studied in St. Olave, Hart Street, and its latest development in St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and St. Andrew Undershaft. Then in St. Katherine Cree we have an ex-



STATUE OF QUEEN ANNE IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

ample of that rarest of styles, the Gothic of the Stuart period, the brief revival extinguished by the Great Rebellion. We had a second example in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, but it has been lately ruined by the ruinator of St. Albans Abbey. I would like furthermore to believe that in St. Albans, Wood Street, we have Inigo Jones's Gothic, restored — not in Lord Grimthorpe's sense of the word — by Sir Christopher Wren, of whose feeling for the old style we have other examples in St. Mary Aldermary, the glorious tower of St. Michael, and the too fantastic spire of St. Dunstan in the East. Of Wren's own style we have St. Paul's, in many respects the finest cathedral in the world, and St. Stephen's, Walbrook, till lately the model and criterion of all Protestant parochial churches. There are beauties in all Wren's city churches, and the contrast is strong between even the meanest of them and such buildings as St. Peter le Poor or St. Katherine Coleman. The Gothic revival of our own time is well illustrated by St. Dunstan, Fleet Street, a building which, if it had been in stone, or even red, instead of drab, brick, might be almost



LINCOLN'S INN CHAPEL

unreservedly admired. Before proceeding to visit some of these beautiful churches we may well pause for a moment to inquire as to the meaning of the very strange-sounding names some of them bear. There was nothing over which Stow stumbled so hopelessly; but we must acknowledge, in much humility, that until very recently we were all ready to accept his derivations. I have mentioned Cripplegate, Ludgate, Aldgate, and Billingsgate, as well as Huggin Lane and some other names. But we have many more which are occasionally very puzzling to account for. They are chiefly tacked on to the names of the saints to whom churches are dedicated. Among those of St. Mary, for example, how shall we account for Aldermary, le Bow, Staining, Bothaw, Woolnoth, Woolchurch Haw, Colechurch,

PEPYS' MONUMENT IN ST. OLAVE'S CHURCH

UNDER LINCOLN'S INN CHAPEL

Mounthaw, Somerset, and Abchurch? Let us take these first and in order. They all seem to have been parts of one great parish, dedicated at a very remote period to the Blessed Virgin, and as they were one by one built and endowed were distinguished in popular speech by some man's name or nickname or by some local or other peculiarity. While Westcheap was an open market-place there flowed along its eastern side a stream, now hidden far underground, known as the Wallbrook, generally written Walbrook. On the western side of this brook was the parish church of St. Mary—St. Mary Aldermary—the original church, as its second name denotes, from which the others are derived. In process of time, but

ALL HALLOWS' BARKING CHURCH

VESTRY IN ST. OLAVE'S CHURCH, HART STREET, FENCHURCH STREET

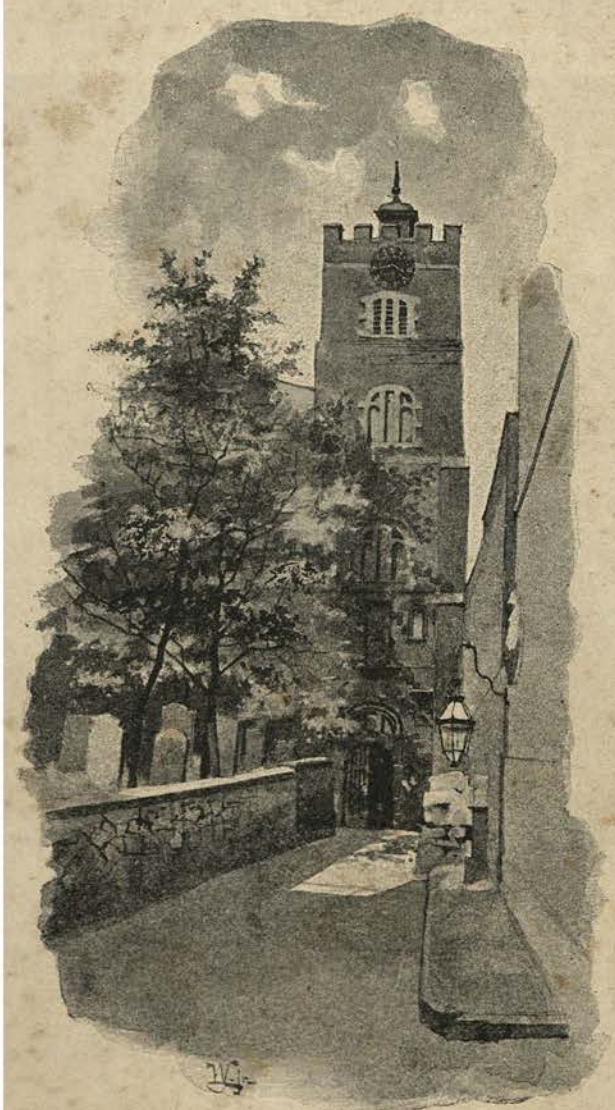
A BACK COURT IN SMITHFIELD

exactly when it is not easy to say, except that it was probably early in the twelfth century and after the Great Fire of 1136, there was a great multiplication of small churches, and three or four of them seem to mark landing-places, now otherwise obliterated, on the Walbrook. First we have St. Mary Somerset, which Stow very judiciously interprets Somer's hithe, quoting the name of Edred's hithe, afterwards Queenhithe, which was close by. Then we come to a lock or "hatch." This is marked by St. Mary Mounthaw, where it is not easy to accept Stow's Monthaunt family, of which no records exist. Then we have another "hatch," St. Mary Bothaw, usually said to mean Boat-hatch, but more probably a wooden gate-lock called in some early documents Board-hatch or "la Bord-hawe." Next we reach St. Mary Woolchurch Haw; in "Woolchurch" I think there is an allusion to the neighbouring

DOOR OF ST. DUNSTAN'S CHURCH

Woollenhithe, or Wolnoth, but the new church was nearer the "haw" or hatch. St. Mary Wolnoth seems unquestionably a name referring to the hithe. St. Mary Abchurch seems to be a corruption of Up-church, on account of its situation above St. Mary Bothaw. St. Mary at Hill has something of the same kind of meaning. St. Mary Aldermanbury explains itself. St. Mary le Bow boasted of a tall tower surmounted by arches, or "bows," and a small spire supported on them like that of Wren's St. Dunstan. St. Mary Colechurch would be more puzzling, but that it probably stood in that part of the market where coal or charcoal was sold. St. Mary Staining may mark the unusual phenomenon in the city of a stone building; or it and All Hallows' Staining, or one of them, may be called from the manor of Staines, to which certain houses in London belonged before the Norman Conquest. These

NORTH SIDE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT



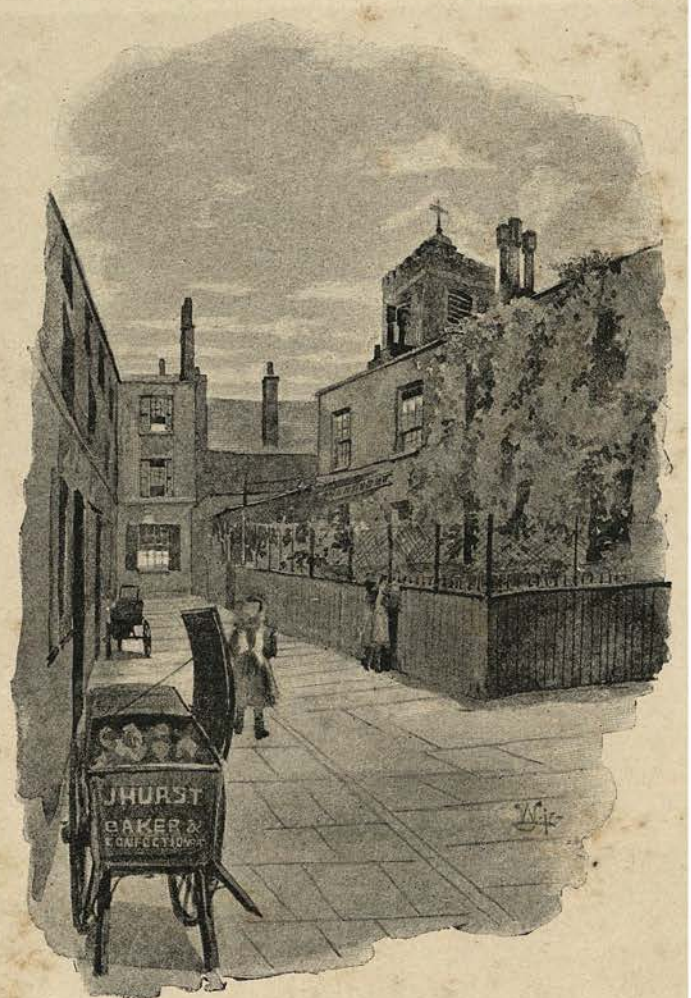
ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT

SMITHFIELD AND ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

CHURCHYARD, ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT

houses are not mentioned in Domesday; but they may be commemorated by Staining Lane, and I observe that in the earliest document in which there is distinct mention of this church it is described as "St. Mary's, Staining Lane."

Having thus seen how easily the names of all the various "St. Mary" churches may be accounted for, we may pick out from the list of city parishes a few of the names which seem most strange and quaint. All Hallows' Barking was founded by the Abbey of Barking in Essex. St. Andrew Hubbard is called in ancient documents "Hubert," which was no doubt the name of a benefactor, restorer, or rebuilder, who lived before the reign of Henry III. "Undershaft," the name of another St. Andrew's,



ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT, COCKERELL'S BUILDINGS

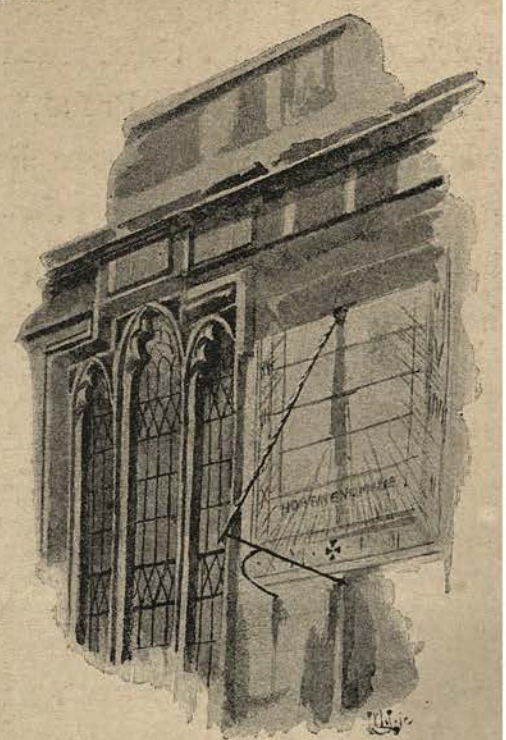
refers to the maypole on Cornhill, which used to stand close by. "The Wardrobe" was a royal office situated in Castle Baynard, where the keepers of the King's apparel had their headquarters, and one of the churches dedicated to St. Andrew was near it. "St. Benedict, or St. Benet Fink," is called, says Newcourt, "of Robert Finck the elder, who new built it, but about what time I find not." It is mentioned as early as 1311, and the Finks or Finches were great folk in the city, and are still commemorated by Finch Lane, Cornhill. St. Benet "Sherehog," in Size Lane, is an interesting example of the change of a dedication. The church became ruinous, perhaps from the Great Fire of 1136, and was rebuilt by Sherehog, a citizen whose nickname became a surname and survived for some generations in the city. William "Serehog" was living in 1122. He may have been of a miserly disposition, but for some reason or other, the nickname he acquired

CHURCH OF ST. ETHELBURGA, BISHOPSGATE

stuck to him in an age when even aldermen bore such nicknames as "Drink-peg," "The Proud," and "Bat," and when commoner folk were called Bull and Goose, Box and Horn, Pig and Goodcheap, to say nothing of much more offensive appellations. St. Osyth's perished, leaving a memorial of its name in Size Lane, and St. Benedict "Shere-hog" rose in its place, to be burnt and never rebuilt in the second Great Fire, that of 1666. St. Christopher "le Stocks" is mentioned before 1233, and was so called from its proximity to the Stocks Market. The church stood where the Duke of Wellington's statue stands now in the open space before the portico of the Royal Exchange. St. Dionis "Backchurch" was in Fenchurch Street, and is mentioned as early as the reign of Edward I. It took its name, no doubt, from its situation behind a row of shops. St. John Zachary was so called from a certain priest who probably built it in the middle of the twelfth century. St. Katherine "Coleman" is called from a large garden or enclosure known as Coleman Haw, as early as the reign of Edward III. St. Katherine "Cree," or more correctly "Cree-church," was so called

INTERIOR OF ST. ETHELBURGA'S CHURCH, BISHOPSGATE

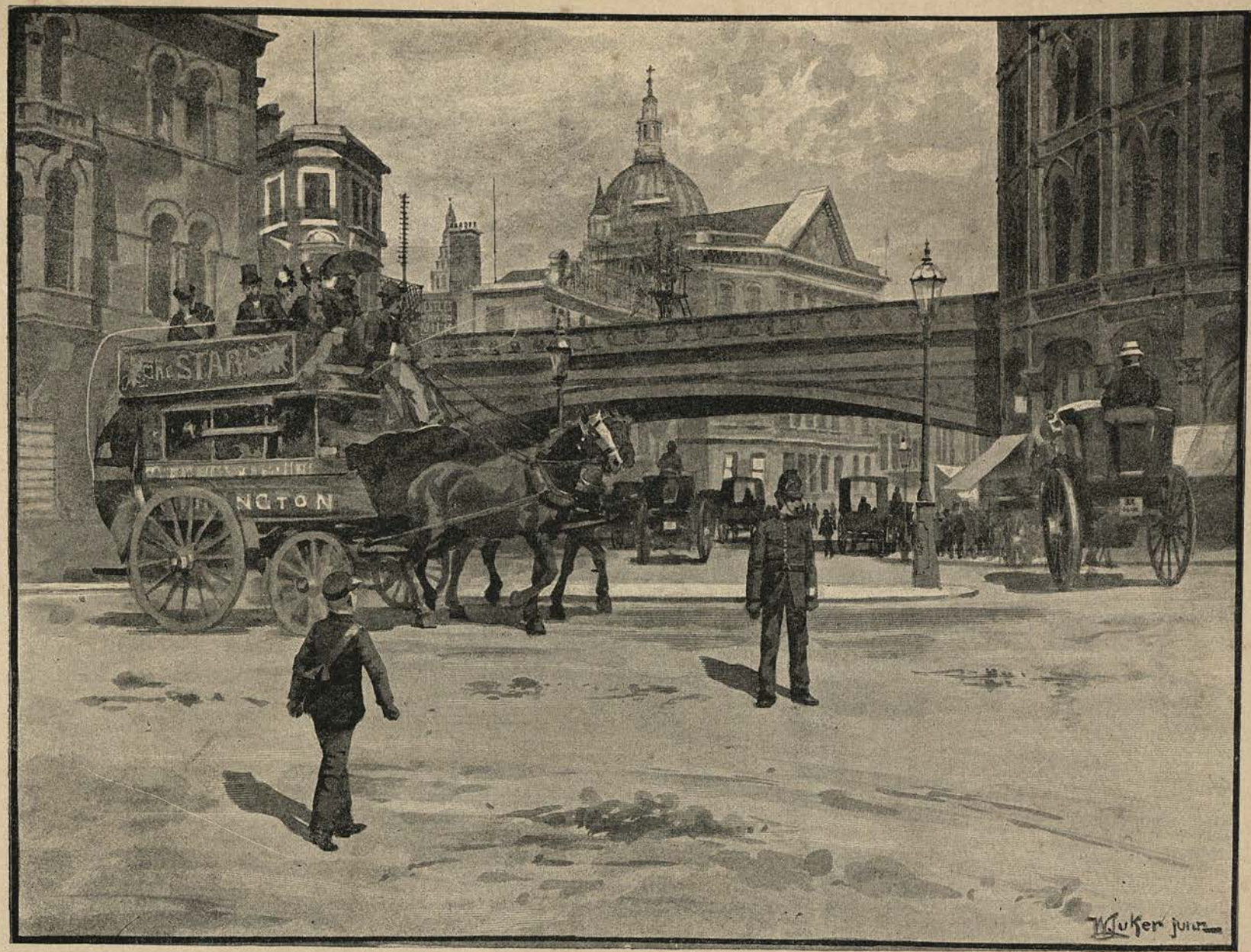
from Christ Church or Holy Trinity, the priory adjoining. St. Margaret Moses must have been built by one Moses, or Moyses, a priest who signs a deed relating to land in the parish of about the year 1140. St. Margaret Pattens stands in that part of Eastcheap where pattens or clogs were made and sold. St. Martin "Orgar's" commemorates an alderman of the twelfth century, who also built St. Botolph's at Billingsgate. St. Martin "Outwich" was built by the members of a family of that name—a name they probably derived from the suburb beyond



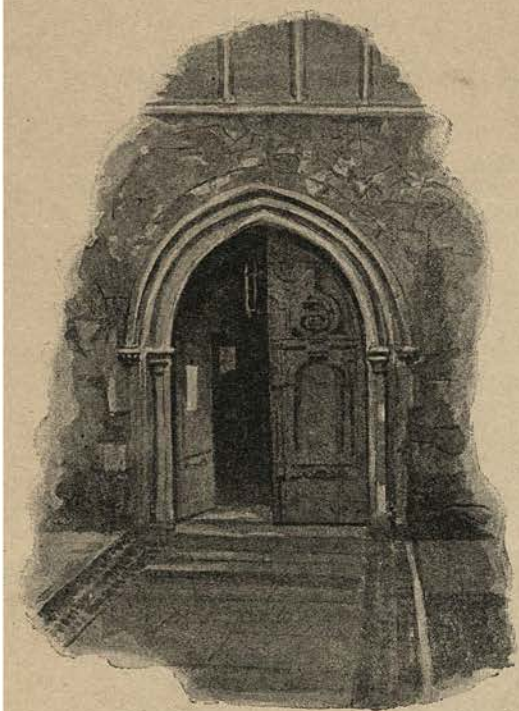
SUNDIAL, ST. KATHERINE CREE CHURCH, LEADENHALL STREET

ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT, LEADENHALL STREET

Bishopsgate. St. Martin "Pomery" shows us where apples were sold in Westcheap, and St. Michael "le Querne" where the corn-market stood. It is sometimes called St. Michael "at corn." St. Michael "Paternoster Royal" is a puzzling name, yet not quite as puzzling as it looks. It stands near the Vintry in the ward of that name, and was at the junction of two lanes, Paternoster—not to be confounded with Paternoster Row—and La Riole, which was called after a village of that name near Bordeaux, and was probably the headquarters of



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL FROM BLACKFRIARS

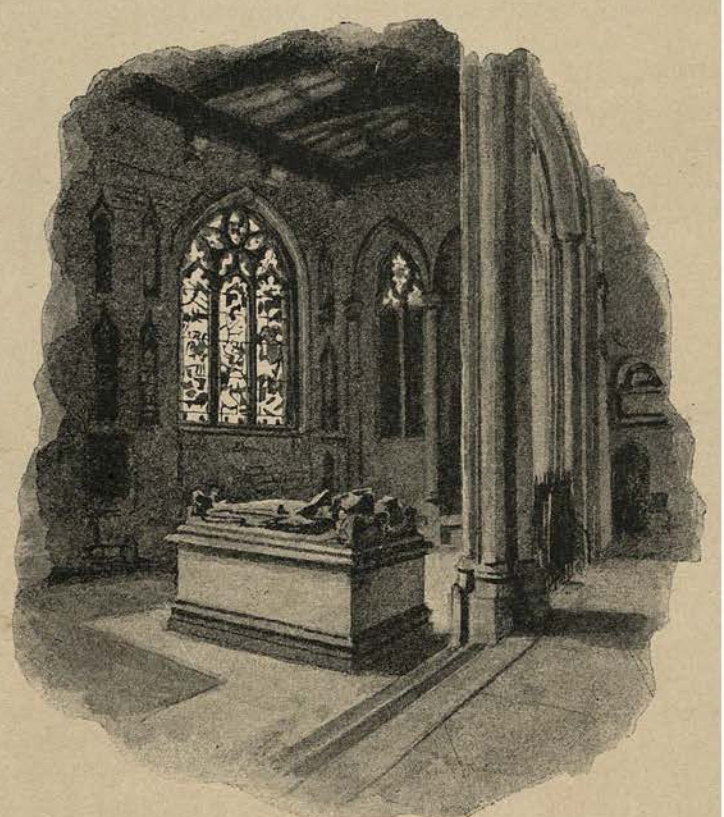


DOOR, ST. HELEN'S CHURCH, BISHOPSGATE STREET

the wine merchants who came from the King's dominions over the sea. The difficulty here is with Paternoster Lane. How did it come by that name? St. Nicholas "Acons" may have something to do with oaks or an oak. Perhaps a tree grew near it. But the most rational explanation is that the church was built by Hacon, who was an early alderman. Nicholas "Cole Abbey" is probably a corruption of St. Nicholas Colby, and refers to a founder or restorer. St. Nicholas "Olave" may be similarly derived. In old documents it is St. Nicholas "Olaf." St. Peter "le Poor" is described about the year 1170 as "parvus," the little, to distinguish it, no doubt, from St. Peter on Cornhill.

Although many of the churches have perished, the old parochial names are still constantly to be seen by any one who perambulates the city, and the old parochial boundaries are rigidly marked and kept.

We may briefly call atten-



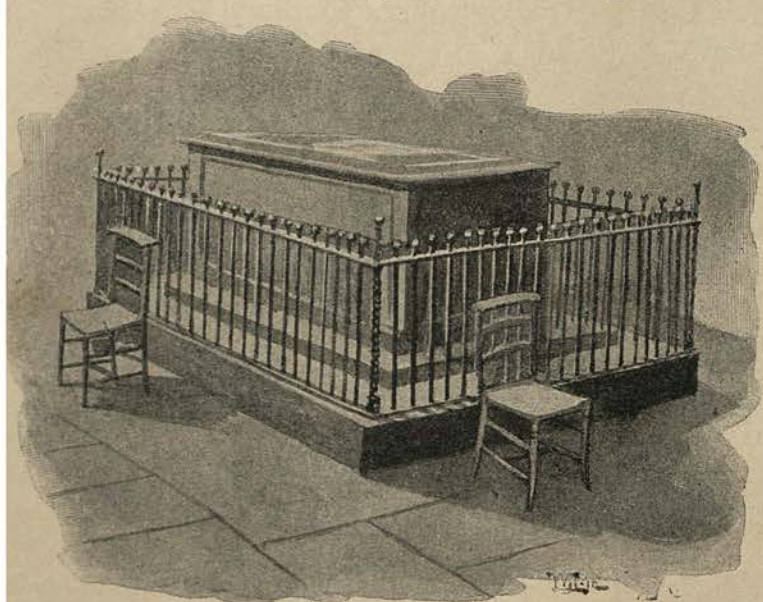
TOMB IN ST. HELEN'S CHURCH

tion first to the old churches which escaped the Great Fire, and then to a few typical examples of Wren's noble designs. It is interesting

DOORWAY, ST. HELEN'S CHURCH

DOOR IN ST. HELEN'S CHURCH

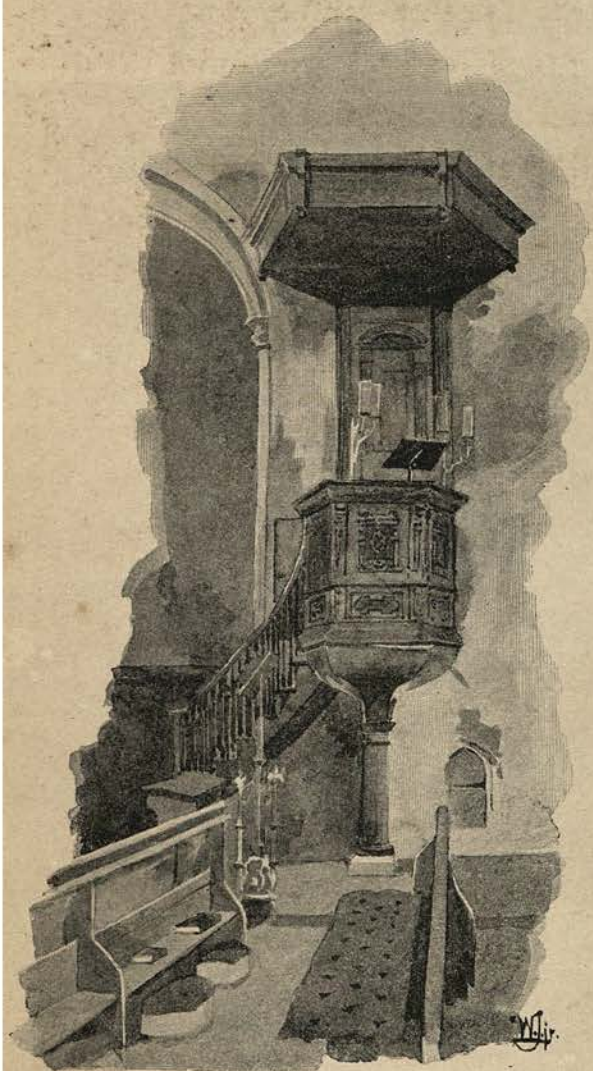
to find that among the surviving churches one of the oldest may be recognised in St. Bartholomew the Great, in Smithfield. Smithfield is the smooth field, or open space, outside the walls which the citizens resorted to for open-air assemblies and other such purposes when the houses round Westcheap and the encroachments of the



MONUMENT TO SIR JULIUS CÆSAR, ST. HELEN'S CHURCH

cathedral had eaten up all the space where at first they had held their folk-mote. We have all read about the meeting in Smithfield when Richard II put himself at the head of the people and when Walworth stabbed Wat Tyler. It is hardly worth while to point out for the hundredth time that Walworth's dagger does not figure on

MONUMENT TO PICKERING, ST. HELEN'S CHURCH



PULPIT IN ST. HELEN'S CHURCH

the city shield—nor any dagger, but the sword of St. Paul, the emblem of his martyrdom. It would not be easy, even for a person very learned in London topography, to piece together a view of what Smithfield was like in those days—with the monastery of the Canons on its eastern side, and the old hospital buildings, perhaps half-timbered gables like those of the hospitals at Warwick and Coventry, to the south. On the edge of the steep hill leading down towards the Fleet was a gibbet, perhaps two or three gibbets, with decaying skeletons hanging to

DOCTORS' COMMONS

them. Northward there would be open ground, so that the prior was able to see his country seat at Canonbury from his town house in St. Bartholomew's Close. All that is now left of the church is the choir, greatly "restored" and renewed, but still heavy and gloomy with its massive Norman piers and arches; and the great fifteenth-century tomb of Rahere, the founder. We cannot tell whether Rahere founded the hospital as well, but there would seem to have been a parish church here, now represented by the chapel of the hospital, as early as the time of Edward the Confessor. The hospital covers the whole parish. There are pretty stories of Rahere, who is said to have been a professional jester at the court of Henry I, but, repenting him of certain naughtinesses, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and returning built the monastery in obedience to orders received from St. Bartholomew in a vision. I have often tried in vain to unravel the different accounts of the foundation of the priory, of the hospital, and of the neighbouring church of St. Sepulchre. On the

ENTRANCE TO DOCTORS' COMMONS

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH BANK OF THE RIVER

DOCTORS' COMMONS, VICAR-GENERAL'S OFFICE

whole, I do not think there was any church here till just before the Conquest, that the priory came next, then the hospital, and finally St. Sepulchre's, a dedication of comparatively late character. The tower and porch of St. Sepulchre's are ancient, but thoroughly restored of late years, and their historical significance in great part obliterated. Of St. Bartholomew the Less nothing remains, though it was spared by the Great Fire. The present church, or hospital chapel, is in a hopelessly mean style of Gothic, as we might expect from its date, 1823. Inigo Jones, the great architect, was baptized in the old church. Still outside the city walls, though within the civic boundaries, there is another church which escaped the Great Fire, namely, St. Giles's. The original fabric was built by a man named Alfune, who was, we are

PORTUGUESE SYNAGOGUE, BEVIS MARKS

told, a friend of Rahere. He must have built the church before Rahere had finished St. Bartholomew's, which was in or about 1102, for in 1103 the archdeacon Reyner witnesses a deed by which Aelmund gives the advowson to St. Paul's, subject to his own incumbency and that of his son Hugh. It is probable that most parish priests in the twelfth century were married men, though of course Aelmund may have been a widower who took orders after the death of his wife. The dean and chapter of St. Paul's have still the presentation to St. Giles's given them by Aelmund 700 years ago. Queen Matilda, the wife of Henry I, patronised the new church by founding in it a guild dedicated to St. Mary and St. Giles. Every one visits St. Giles's church who visits anything of the kind in London, for there is the tomb of the immortal poet John Milton, and in the churchyard is one of the most perfect remnants of the old city wall. The church as we now see it was built after a disastrous fire in 1545. The Great Plague wrought terrible havoc in this parish, and no wonder, for we read that the parishioners drank water from a well in the graveyard. Even the clerk died, and the whole area was raised two feet by the burials. "Crowder's Well" must have

THE OLD GATEWAY TO LINCOLN'S INN, CHANCERY LANE

JUNIOR BEADLE OF THE ROYAL EXCHANGE

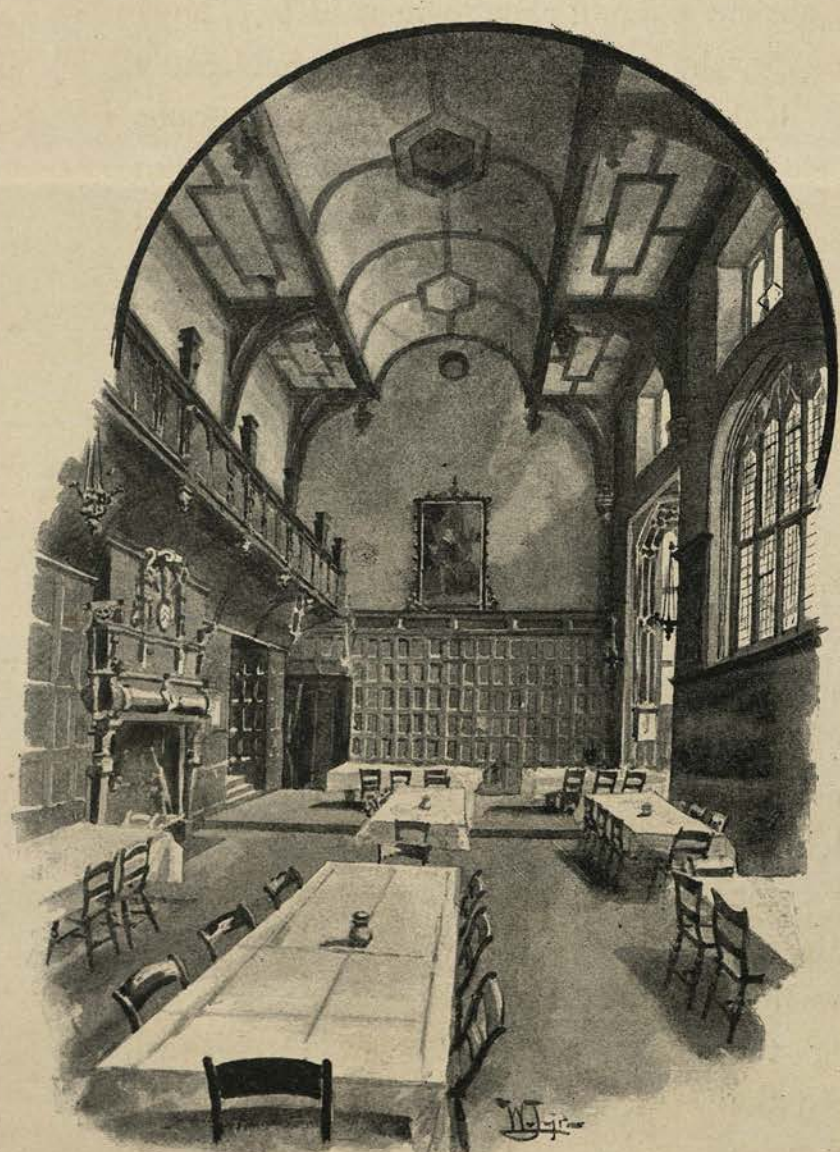
flowed with pure poison; and a second spring near the wall, which was arched over by Whittington, cannot have been much better.

We may now enter within the circuit of the walls at Bishopsgate, and we shall come immediately to a very small but very ancient church, about whose history, however, the records seem to be wonderfully silent. This is St. Ethelburga's, a curious little place, with a few lancet windows, but no other features to detain us, the most remarkable thing about it being the entrance through an archway under a shop. This was a common arrangement, which we may trace at St. Katherine Coleman and St. Giles's, Cripplegate, the church we have just left, as well as at St. Helen's, to which we are just coming. Very few great names are connected with St. Ethelburga's; for though we find Robert Kilwardby among the rectors, it cannot have been the famous Dominican friar who

THE CHARTERHOUSE, CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE

became a Cardinal-Archbishop of Canterbury, as the dates will not fit. One incumbent, John Larke, was a friend of Sir Thomas More, and, like him, was put to death for denying the supremacy of Henry VIII.

Of St. Helen's a great deal has been written and might be written, for it is as remarkable for its connection with the names of great folk, as St. Ethelburga is for their absence. Of the fabric of the church there is not much to be said. The south doorway is as interesting as any other part of the church, and must have had several narrow escapes at the hands of restorers, for it is in a wholly incongruous style, being dated 1633. St. Helen's does not come quite honestly by many of the monuments which crowd its walls and the floor of the nun's aisle, for they are from St. Martin Outwich; but the best belong to the parish; and the visitor should by no means fail to see the fine "hearse" of Sir William Pickering, the brass of a lady in a heraldic mantle, and the curious epitaph of Sir Julius Cæsar, on a hand-



THE CHARTERHOUSE DINING HALL

some tomb made by Nicholas Stone. Of the domestic part of St. Helen's Priory, the wealthiest nunnery in London, nothing remains above ground.

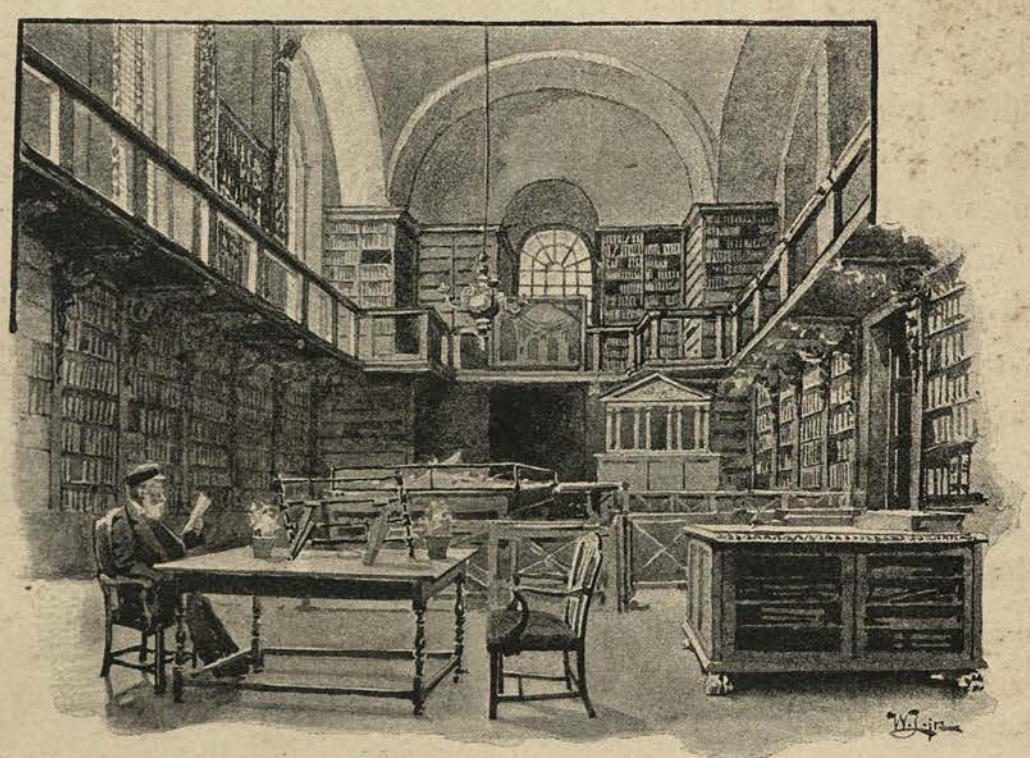
A short walk through a labyrinth of old and narrow lanes takes us into the street called St. Mary Axe. There is no church of that name, nor, indeed, by accident, any church in the ward of Lime Street, of which it forms a part. Stow tells us something of a church and parish of St. Mary, St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, which adjoined a house at its east end, of the sign of the Axe. It was pulled down in 1561 and the parish united to that of St. Andrew Undershaft. The church of St. Andrew stands at the corner, and is very picturesque and well worth a visit, if only for the sake of John Stow, whose handsome terra cotta monument is at the north-eastern corner, the historian being represented writing, with a quill pen, occasionally renewed, in his hand. The church, though in the

ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH AND OLD HOUSES IN EASTCHEAP

Gothic style, only dates from the reign of Henry VIII.

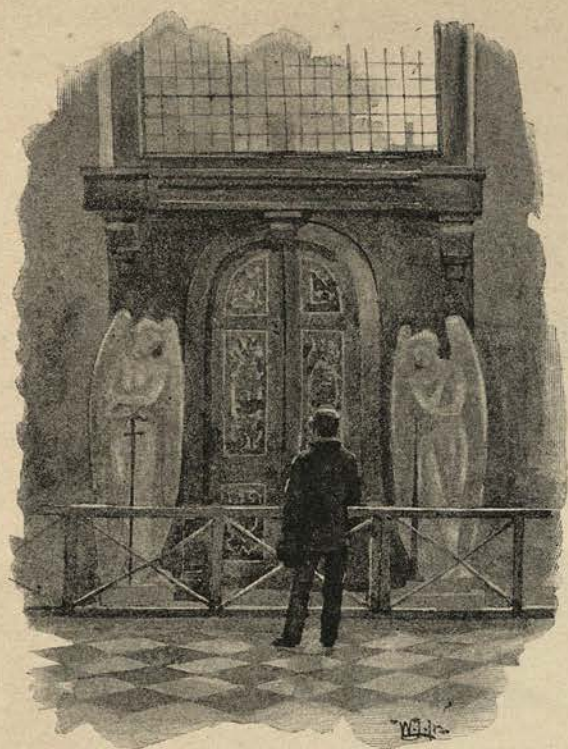
Proceeding a little farther eastward along Leadenhall Street, we reach a more modern but still more interesting church, that known as St. Katherine Cree, a name I have already accounted for. St. Katherine's was closely connected with the life and death of Archbishop Laud, who must, indeed, be looked upon as its designer. A former church had been built here by the Prior of Aldgate in order that he and his canons should not

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LORD NELSON'S TOMB



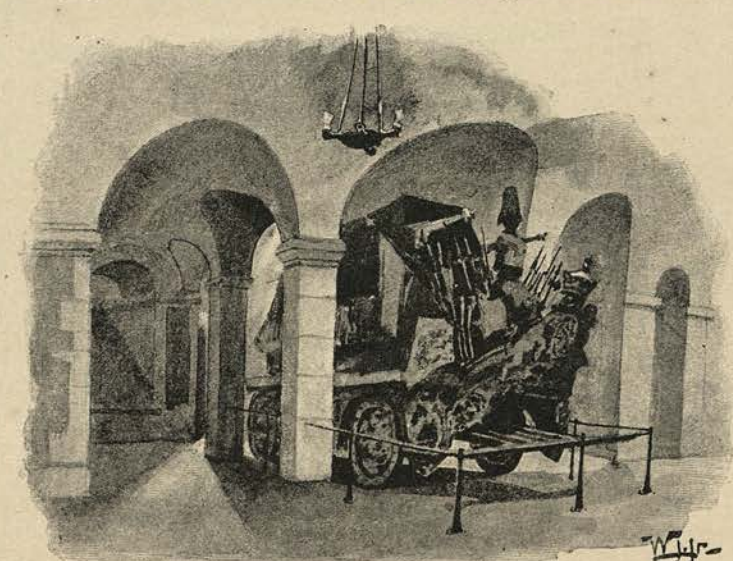
THE LIBRARY, ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL



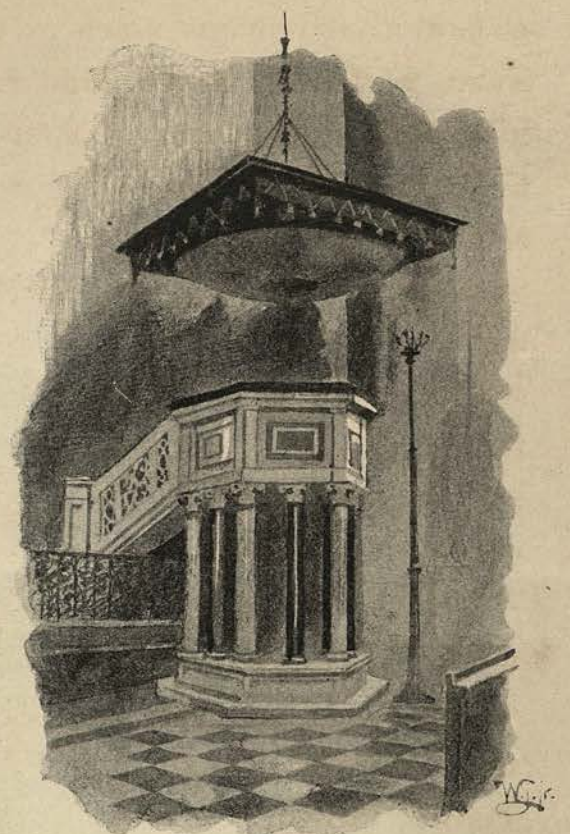
LORD MELBOURNE'S MONUMENT, ST. PAUL'S

be disturbed by the presence of the laity at the services in the priory church. In this church was the grave of at least one very famous man, Hans Holbein the painter, who died of the plague while staying with the Duke of Norfolk in what had been the Prior's house, probably in 1543, but the date is uncertain. In 1628 the old church was pulled down, and, it is asserted, Inigo Jones was the architect chosen to rebuild it. There is no direct evidence that this is the case. On the contrary, the church is unlike Jones's Gothic as we used to see it at Lincoln's Inn, and still more unlike the style he adopted when he built the porch at the west end of Old St. Paul's. Be this as it may, the design reflects the views of Laud, who was then Bishop of London, and shows us what he considered convenient for the worship of the Church of England. As is well known, Laud's behaviour and the ceremonies he observed at the consecration in 1631 were brought against him at his trial and condemnation in



DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S FUNERAL CAR IN THE CRYPT OF ST. PAUL'S

1644. The church consists of a nave and narrow aisles, divided by a double row of handsome Corinthian columns supporting round arches. Most of the other details are of a Gothic character, and there is a fine "Katharine wheel" window at the east end. A curious "classical" porch at the south-east side was put



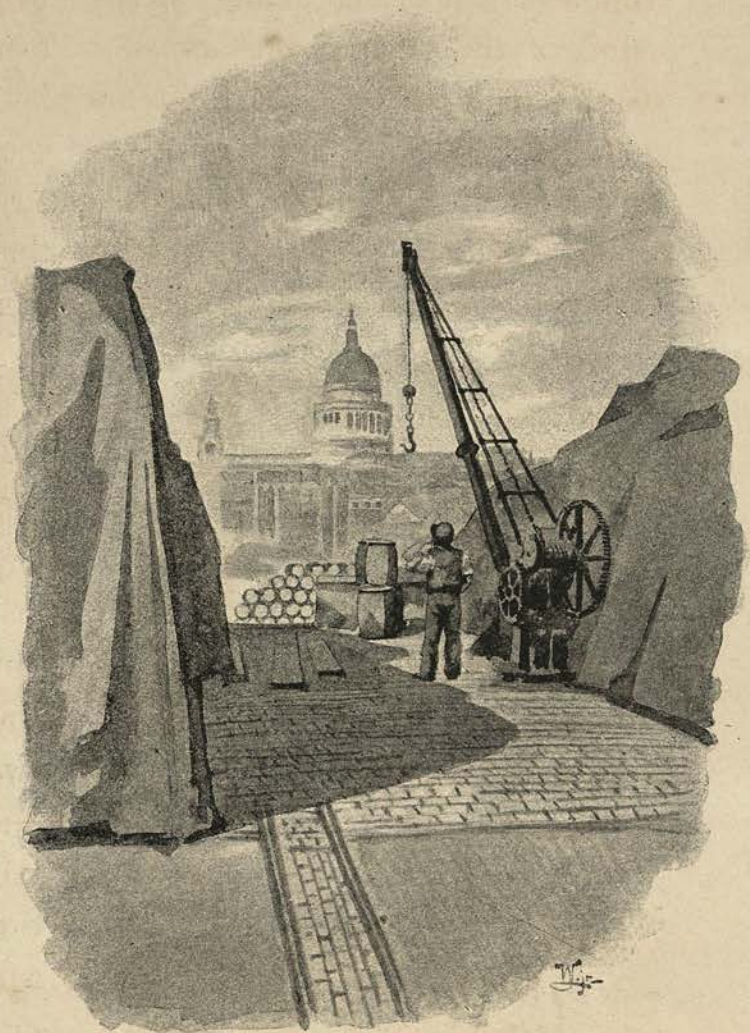
PULPIT IN ST. PAUL'S

up in 1631 by William Avenon, but has just been pulled down, and another feature of London before the Great Fire obliterated.

PATERNOSTER ROW

The old church of All Hallows' Barking, close to Tower Hill, is well worth a visit. Some parts of it seem to be of Norman date, such as the massive piers at the western end. A portion of the church was touched by the Great Fire, but except a very modern porch, in the coarsely moulded style now known

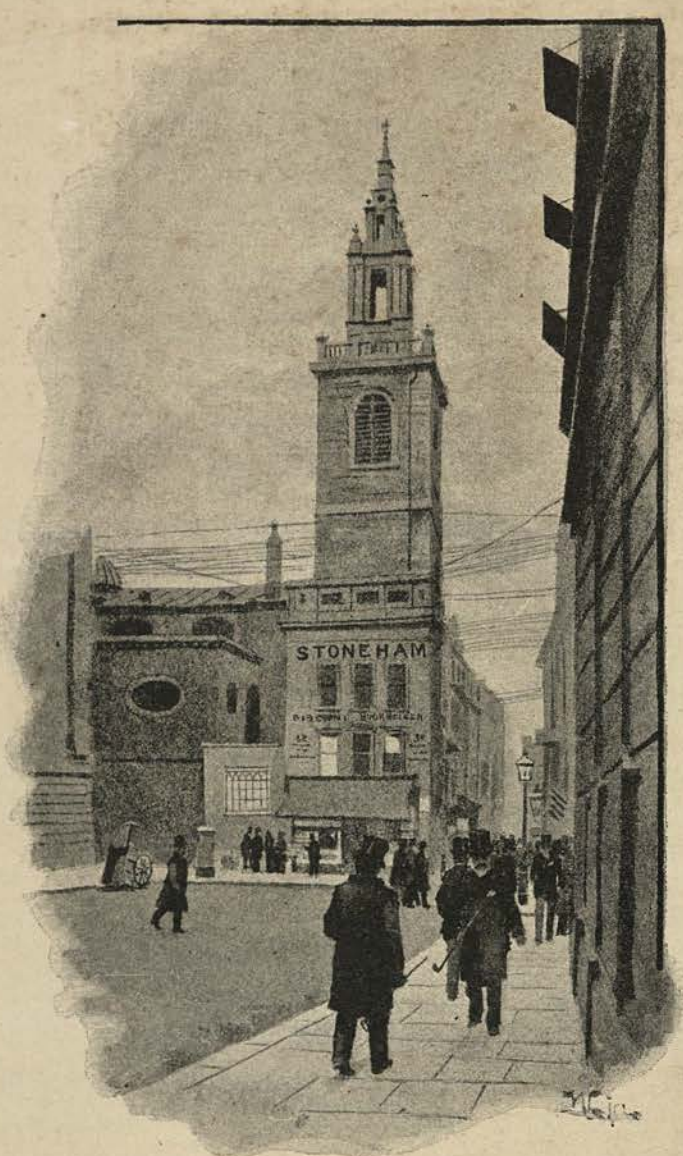
as Gothic, it remains much as it was in the days when the headless bodies of Fisher, Surrey, and Laud were laid in it, all of them to be subsequently removed. Not far from All Hallows', in a little court off Fenchurch Street, is the old tower of All Hallows' Staining, the church having been pulled down, like so many other churches in the neighbourhood. We may be glad that even this relic was spared.



A GLIMPSE OF ST. PAUL'S FROM SOUTHWARK

The last Gothic church in the city is one which attracts many visitors as the burial-place of Samuel Pepys. St. Olave's, Hart Street, deserves a visit for its own sake. The Gothic part has been only too thoroughly "restored," and we cannot now tell how much of it is old and how much new. But, for some unexplained reason, the restorers spared a good deal of the later work, such, for example, as the delightful vestry with its wonderful angel ceiling, and the gateway adorned with skulls. The pulpit, attributed to Grinling Gibbons, and worthy of him, came from the destroyed church of St. Benedict Gracechurch.

The great majority of the city churches as we now see them



ST. STEPHEN'S, WALBROOK

are to be ascribed to the genius of Sir Christopher Wren. I first saw St. Paul's during the height of the great Gothic mania, whose prevalence has led both in London and in the country to such widespread destruction of the relics of old time, under the name of "restoration." I came prejudiced in every possible way against it; I had, as I supposed, a fair idea from prints—it was in days before photographs—of what impression the church would make on my mind, but I freely confess that all my pre-formed opinions and ideas were swept away at the first visit. The view up Ludgate Hill, with the short graceful spire of St. Martin's in the foreground to afford a measure to the eye, is without a rival in England. The widening of the roadway seems to me partly to compensate for the interruption of the view by the railway bridge. What an opportunity was lost when this hideous viaduct was made! It would have been so easy to design something worthy of the view. Another excellent place from which to enjoy the exterior of St. Paul's is Paternoster Row. Here at the corner of the so-called "Cannon" Alley, the

beautiful semicircular portico of the north transept is surmounted by the noble dome, the picture being framed by the not altogether ugly houses on either hand. I allow that the view of the interior from the western door disappointed me at first. Perhaps the magnificence of the exterior led me to expect too much. I can quite understand that Wren's original design, in which a lower dome at this west end was to lead up to the greater one, would have given a more pleasing interior effect, but the exterior would perhaps have suffered. Any disappointment one may feel on entering is, however,

ST. STEPHEN'S, WALBROOK, FROM CHURCHYARD

BOOKSELLER'S UNDER ST. STEPHEN'S, WALBROOK

speedily dispelled, and even the coldness of the gray walls does not strike one as much as it might when the stained glass, the dark oak carving, and the new and gorgeous reredos are seen. I cannot admire the two or three mosaics which have been placed round the dome, and which seem to me to make some attempt to dwarf the proportions of the building, like the very unfortunate angels which so entirely ruin the effect of St. Peter's at Rome. Wren avoided such mistakes with his usual caution and unerring taste. The incongruous pulpit under the dome also jars on the sight, but as it is only unsuitable and not in itself bad, its incongruity may be pardoned. The new reredos is another feature I can hardly imagine Wren would have sanctioned. Still it is handsome in itself, and goes far to increase the sense of vastness with which the whole church impresses the visitor.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, CORNHILL

BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET

I have never heard adequate praise bestowed on the flower wreaths in carved stone which so greatly adorn the spandrels of the vaulting. Their extraordinary variety is only one of their many claims on our admiration.

The completeness of St. Paul's places it at the head of English cathedrals. In this respect only Salisbury can compete with it; but, much as one must admire Salisbury, it is wanting in the dignity which characterises St. Paul's. Wren never for a moment seems to have forgotten, in the presence of the enormous mass of his design, the minutely subtle proportion which marks his smallest work; and, on the other hand, he did not fall into the error of thinking that the proportions of a great building and of a small one can be the same. We may be sure that if he had built St. Paul's on the plan of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, the proportions would have been very different.

CITY LIBERAL CLUB, WALBROOK

When a modern architect would design, say, a portico in a Grecian style, he is disappointed to find that the most servile imitation of the Parthenon or a temple at Pæstum will not produce the desired effect if it is applied to a building of double the size. Hence many of the failures among our public buildings. St. Stephen's, Walbrook, ought to be looked upon as a national monument. It has fallen into bad hands and has been more ruthlessly pulled about than any other of Wren's churches, except, of course, those which have been utterly destroyed. Prior to experience, it might be thought that no modern architect would dare to lay hands on Wren's masterpiece, as many of the best architectural critics consider St. Stephen's; yet within the past few years everything short of actually pulling it down has been tried in this church to obliterate the marks of Wren's hand, and to rasp down all the features he had thought out so carefully into a dull

KING'S BENCH WALK

emptiness and uniformity. The perpetrators of the last vandalism are not to be reached by the hatred and scorn of the civilised world; but it seems as if something must be very wrong in the government of the city if there is no means of calling them to account and of forcing them to replace what they have so brutally destroyed.

MIDDLE TEMPLE HALL

Another of Wren's best effects has also lately perished. The tower of St. Antholin's, Watling Street, was unique; and, besides, it formed part of a composition of great importance to any one who would make an estimate of Wren's place as an artist. Contrasted with the square tower of St. Mary Aldermary, it enabled us to judge as to the comparative merits of square towers and tapering spires, and also as to the merits of Gothic and classical architecture. In it Wren showed us how, with

FOUNTAIN COURT, TEMPLE

Italian details and that marvellous sense of proportion to be seen in all his work, the best points of Gothic architecture could be adapted. The result, whether in itself or in contrast, was most satisfactory, and was greatly enhanced by the opening of the wide street between the two churches. I shall not soon forget my distress when, after a long absence abroad, I went once more to enjoy the view, and found to my horror that St. Antholin's had utterly disappeared. On the whole, this is the greatest vandalism perpetrated in our time. We abuse the architects of the past for destroying the bell tower at Salisbury, but that was a meritorious action compared with the removal of St. Antholin's; and I have been assured on the highest authority that the destruction was carried out in spite not only of the protests, but even the

BLACKFRIARS—NIGHTFALL

entreaties, of the rulers of the city. I need not speak here of St. Mary le Bow, or of the tower of St. Magnus, or of the countless charms to be found in every one of Wren's buildings, great or small, but conclude a long chapter by exhorting every visitor not to neglect the view along Newgate Street, where he can get three of the best steeples almost into a line.

WINCHESTER HOUSE, OLD BROAD STREET

SITE OF TEMPLE BAR

FLEET STREET, SHOWING THE LAW COURTS

GRAY'S INN SQUARE

CHAPTER VI

THE CITY AS IT IS

Temple Bar—Fickett's Field—The Lawyers' Haunts—The Temple—Inns of Chancery—Lincoln's Inn—The Rolls—Fleet Street—Whitefriars—Literary Associations—St. Bride's—Bridewell—The Fleet—Queen Victoria Street—Baynard's Castle—*Times* Office—Bible Society—St. Benet, Paul's Wharf—Heralds' College—Mansion-House—Cornhill—Leadenhall Street—Fenchurch Avenue—Billiter Square—New Zealand Chambers—Aldgate—Holy Trinity Church—St. Saviour's, Southwark—London Bridge—The Monument—Gracechurch Street—Crosby Hall—Sir Paul Pindar—City Architecture.

THE changes which London has undergone in the past twenty or thirty years are so great that I can quite imagine a visitor formerly familiar with the old streets unable now to find his way from Temple Bar to the Tower. The very first thing to meet his eyes would be

OLD HOUSES IN TOOK'S COURT, CHANCERY LANE

the huge mass of the Law Courts, where formerly was a rookery of dilapidated, if picturesque, houses. Then where is Temple Bar? Where is the dingy front of Child's Bank with its curious little room over the arch? Where, on the opposite side, are the familiar oyster shop and the old Cock? All are gone, and we might be better resigned to their loss if we could persuade ourselves that the region still vaguely denominated Temple Bar had been improved in the process of alteration.

I have not heard any adequate reason advanced for the removal of the old archway. Some people said it obstructed the highway; to which the obvious answer was, "Make the street wider and leave Temple Bar in the middle." That is what they have done in Paris. If the road was obstructed, why was that funny Dragon set up?

DOORWAY IN TOOK'S COURT, CHANCERY LANE

It will be well, however, in passing, to assert once more that Temple Bar was not a city gate. I regret its removal, because it was extremely beautiful in itself, and because it had many interesting associations. There has been a kind of crusade against Wren's works of late years; and Temple Bar was doomed from the first. The age that spared not the College of Physicians was not likely to respect Temple Bar, even if it had been what it was not, a city gate. As there was no boundary wall or fence between the ward

of Farringdon Without and the Middlesex parish of St. Clement Danes, there could not be any gate. The gates of London were in the walls, and the walls were far in the rear of such outer bulwarks as the Bars at the Temple, or in Holborn, or at Bishopsgate Without. Temple Bar, as we knew it, was a triumphal arch, erected in 1670, to supersede a kind of wooden toll-gate which had marked the city boundary. The ground outside, though in Middlesex, was rented by the city from the Crown, together with a forge; and as the ground, known as Fickett's Field, was used by the Templars for tilting, we may suppose the forge was an armourer's workshop. In Wat Tyler's rebellions the mob which poured through the Bars burnt the forge, the very site of which is now uncertain, but the city still pays annually six horse-shoes and sixty-one nails, the ancient rent. The New Law Courts may be taken as standing on Fickett's Field, and also across the boundary between city and county. Among the thirty-three streets pulled down to clear the site was Searle's Place, which was long known as Shire Lane, and, as Stow observed, divided "the cittie from the

ENTRANCE TO MIDDLE TEMPLE LANE

GATE IN GRAY'S INN GARDENS

shire." Middlesex has now retired to the north, and the city and shire are both called London under recent legislation.

To get into the city from the westward, whether we go by way of Fleet Street or through Holborn, we must cross the zone of the lawyers. Gray's Inn is outside the city limits, but contains so many picturesque corners and garden views that we are tempted to include some of them. There is a great deal that is picturesque about the Temple, in spite of the barbarities it has undergone in recent years. I cannot conceive anything more entirely contrary to all the principles of beauty in architectural art than the new buildings at the foot of Middle Temple Lane. I have had occasion to say several times over that ornament, however lavish, will not make an ugly building pretty. The rule is admirably illustrated by this example. There are, however, better things than this in both the Temples. The hall doors in King's Bench Walk, the Middle Temple Hall, Dean

DOORWAY IN KING'S BENCH WALK

FLEET STREET, SHOWING ST. PAUL'S

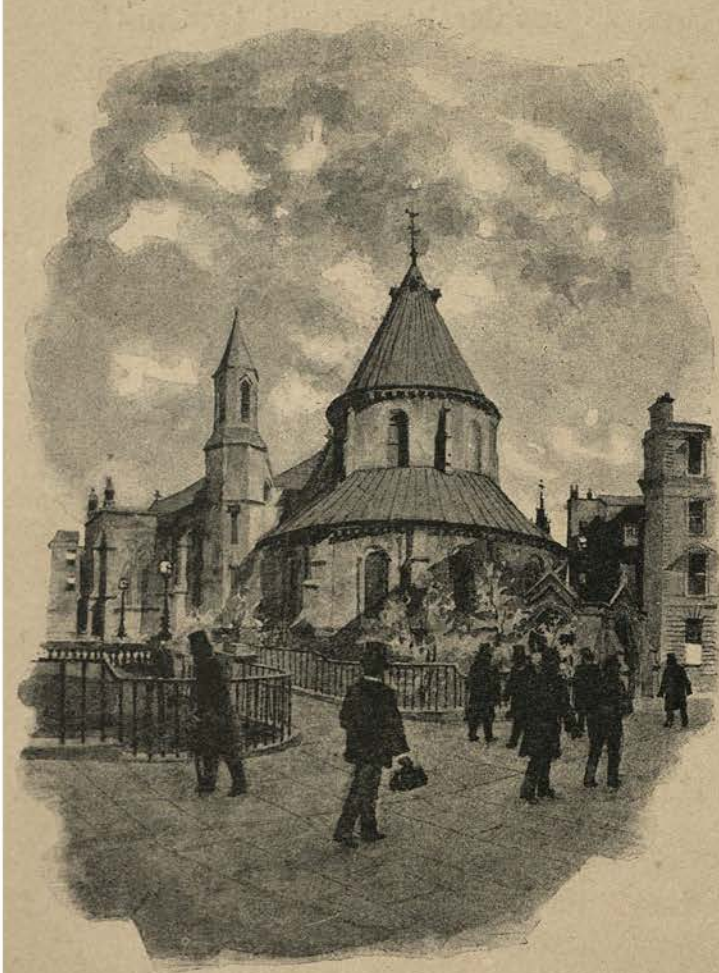
SUNDIAL IN FOUNTAIN COURT, TEMPLE

Vaughan's house, a very good example of Wren's domestic style, and one or two of the older blocks of buildings may be admired. I cannot say anything for the Hall and Library of the Inner Temple, which are in a poor style of modern mock-Gothic, nor can I praise the heavy mass of the Middle Temple Library, which forms such an eyesore in the view from the Thames Embankment. There is very little also to be said about the chapel. It was so ruthlessly restored by Smirke in 1827, that it is difficult to find any ancient features. The monuments have been removed from the walls and are not now to be seen, but I believe some of them are preserved in a kind of vestry under the organ bellows, and some in the triforium. A small portion of the old burial-ground is on the north side, and among the stones is one which bears the name of Oliver Goldsmith, but the exact place of his burial is unknown. The Fountain Court is famous, and is mentioned and described by Dickens in *Martin Chuzzlewit.*

SERJEANTS' INN

On the same side of Fleet Street as the Temple is Serjeants' Inn, a new square of singular ugliness, but

an older Serjeants' Inn is on the north side of the street behind St. Dunstan's Church. The last Serjeants sold their inns when the "order of the coif" was abolished a few years ago. A similar fate has befallen the Inns of Chancery, of which at one time we might have reckoned up more than half a dozen—Lyon's, Clement's, New, Clifford's, Staple, Barnard's, and Furnival's. There are some remains of all these except Lyon's Inn to be seen, but we feel that their continued existence is unlikely. The Inns of Chancery were looked upon as the poor relations of the Inns of Court, these latter being Gray's, which lies outside the city boundary, on the north side of Holborn; Lincoln's, and the two Temples. Of Lincoln's Inn there are no ancient remains except the gateway in Chancery Lane, which has been so often condemned that it seems to have a charmed life. The famous Ben Jonson is said to have worked as a bricklayer at the building of this court. The chapel was by Inigo Jones, but the Society was so ill advised as to hand it over to the tender mercies of an amateur for improvement, and he speedily improved away the more distinctive traces of Inigo which time had spared. The Hall is now the most satisfactory part of Lincoln's Inn. It was designed by Hardwick, and was built in 1843 in a surprisingly good style of



THE TEMPLE CHURCH

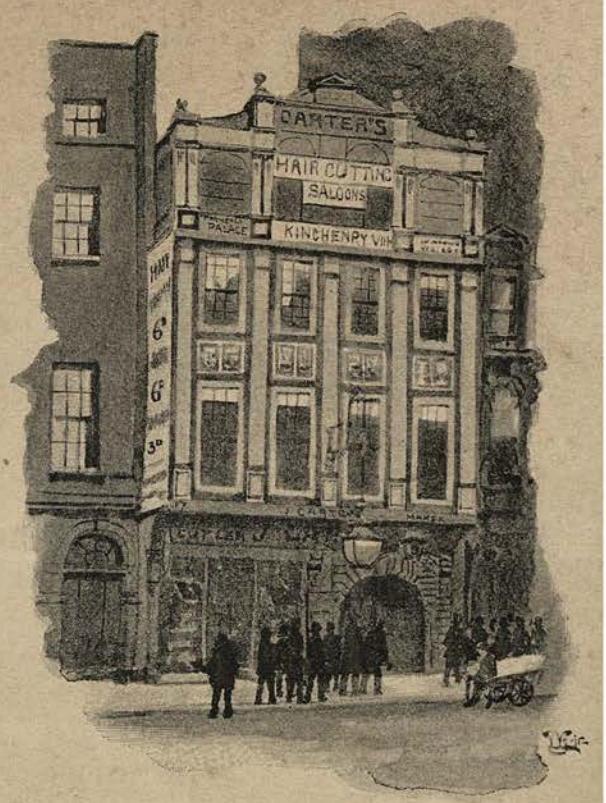
THE TEMPLE CHURCH

Gothic. The red and black brick looks exceedingly well contrasted with the green of the gardens and of Lincoln's Inn Fields beyond. Some relics of old architecture may be found in Took's Court, Chancery Lane.

Returning to Fleet Street, we must not neglect the Rolls, with a curious and by no means beautiful chapel in which are to be found some grand old monuments, including one in terra cotta by Torregiano, to the memory of John Young, a remarkable man in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. He was consecrated Bishop of Gallipoli, *in partibus infidelium*, and acted as suffragan to the Bishop of London. He was also an eminent lawyer, became Master of the Rolls in 1508, and was continued in office by Henry VIII until 1517. He died in 1526. This chapel is in the list of the city churches condemned to destruction. Originally, the Rolls house was a foundation made by Henry III for

converted Jews. Its full history, how many converts it contained, and its gradual transfer into a record office, are things which have never been detailed.

The visitor will observe, when, like Dr. Johnson, he takes a walk down Fleet Street, that his way is, literally, downhill. He is, in fact, descending into the valley from which the street takes its name. "Fleet" is an Anglo-Saxon word which denotes a tidal estuary. The Fleet was that part of the Hole-bourne into which the tide from the Thames flowed and out of which it ebbed. This ebb and flow probably extended almost to Temple Bar before the twelfth century. At Temple Bar there was a spur of higher ground which was reached from Holborn by Fetter and Shoe Lanes. I do not know the meaning of the name of Fetter Lane, but the other name is a corruption of Show-well Lane, the show well being some distance to the northward. The "Show" may have been of rags and ribbons, such as are still to be seen round sacred wells in superstitious countries.



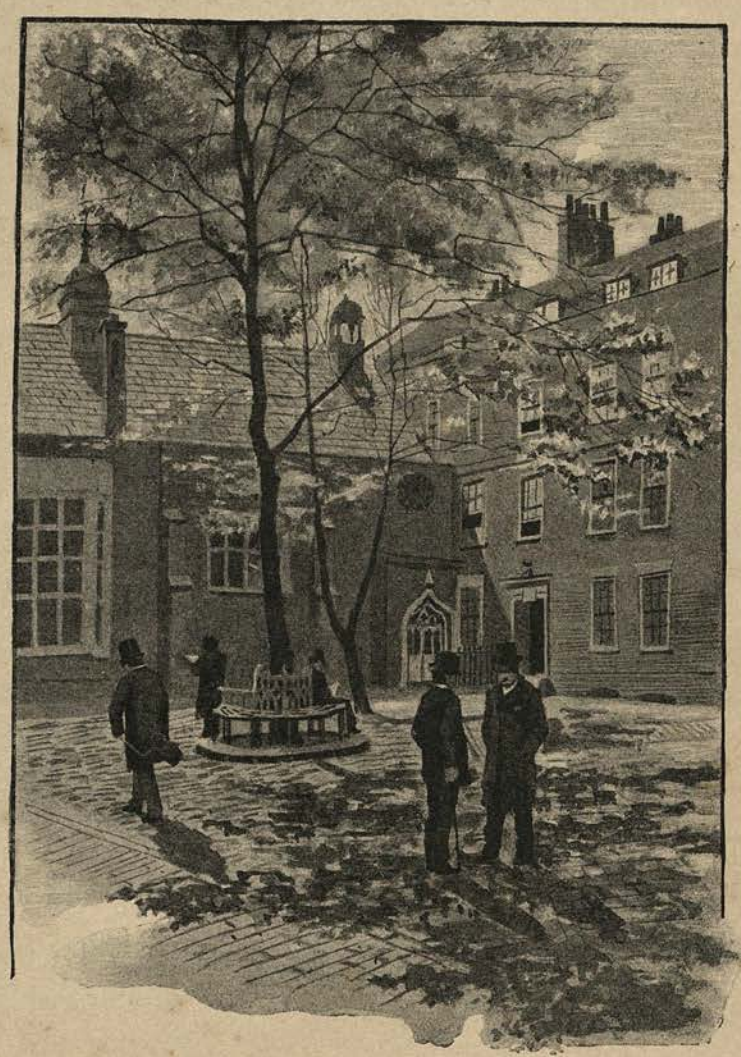
OLD HOUSE BY TEMPLE BAR

GATEWAY IN STAPLE INN

FLEET STREET, SHOWING TEMPLE BAR MEMORIAL AND CHILD'S BANK

The Fleet could not at the highest tide surmount the ridge, the southern end of which is still marked by the Roman bath in a lane off the Strand.

When we have passed the Temple and admired a fine gateway designed by Wren, and an odd-looking old house, said to have been tenanted at one time by Cardinal Wolsey and later by Lintot, the bookseller, we reach the precinct of the Whitefriars. We have left the lawyers behind and have come to the realm of the newspapers. Some of the new offices are very handsome, especially that of the *Daily Telegraph*, which was designed by Mr. Arding, and that of the *Sportsman*, by Mr. A. E. Browne. The offices of the *Standard* are not far off, and extend into St. Bride's Street, those of the *Daily News* being on the south side of Fleet Street, opposite.



STAPLE INN

The north side of Fleet Street is associated with some interesting literary names. In Gough Square there is a house marked with a tablet as having been the residence of Dr. Johnson. Here he finished his *Dictionary*. He also lived in John-

son's Court, which, by the way, is not called after him, and in 1776 he took up his residence in Bolt Court, in a house afterwards pulled down, and died there in 1784. We must not forget that Izaak Walton kept a shop at the south-west corner of Chancery Lane, the exact site of which would now be in the middle of the roadway.

When we reach Salisbury Court, on the south side, we

STAPLE INN HALL

OLD HOUSES IN SOUTH SQUARE, GRAY'S INN

are in the heart of the Whitefriars' precinct. The privilege of sanctuary, enjoyed by the Carmelites, clung to the place after the dissolution; and if we want to know what it was like in the time of the Stuarts we may read Sir Walter Scott's account of Alsatia in *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Now, the whole place is covered with printing-houses, and the Office of the *St. James's Gazette* stands as nearly as possible on the site of the mansion of the Earls of Dorset, one of

THE RECORD OFFICE—FEEDING THE PIGEONS

OLD SERJEANTS' INN

At the old-fashioned little office of Mr. Punch we come to a fine view, greatly improved of late years, of St. Bride's Church, the steeple of which is one of Wren's masterpieces. Mr. Hawkins, the present vicar, says of it, with a pardonable partiality, that "its interior is only surpassed by that of St.

whom obtained it from Bishop Jewell of Salisbury. Here John Locke was living when he wrote the famous *Essay on the Human Understanding*. Richardson, the novelist, was a printer in Salisbury Court, or Square, as it is now called, and here for a short time employed Oliver Goldsmith to correct the press. The house was at the north-western corner.

OLD SERJEANTS' INN

Stephen's, Walbrook, its steeple only by St. Mary le Bow." The removal of the entrance-gate to a place whence it can be seen from Fleet Street is a great improvement. John Milton lived for some years in a house near the church on a site now covered by the back of *Punch* Office.

We now come to the foot of the slope mentioned above, and find

SOUTH SQUARE, GRAY'S INN

ourselves in Ludgate Circus, a fine open space surrounded with mean modern buildings. On the right was formerly the palace of Bridewell, sometime inhabited by Henry VIII after the palace at Westminster was burnt, and before the palace at Whitehall had been taken from Cardinal Wolsey. No remains exist of Bridewell, nor yet of the "Hospital" or workhouse, established on its site by the authorities of

CITY OF LONDON SCHOOLS, VICTORIA EMBANKMENT

BARNARD'S INN

opposite house of the Blackfriars. A little higher up stream than the Blackfriars was the famous Fleet Prison, which figures in so many books, memoirs, and novels. The exact site is marked by one of the city eyesores, a hall built in a kind of mock-Gothic for a meeting-place for Dissenters. The prison was taken down in 1844.

The Fleet river still runs in a kind of sewer underground, and discharges the city in the reign of Edward VI; and now chiefly memorable as having given its name to the smaller local houses of detention throughout the country.

In front of us is the place through which formerly flowed the tidal waters of the Fleet; and we read in *Stow* that when the Emperor Charles V visited Henry VIII, his suite was lodged in Bridewell, and a bridge having been specially made for the purpose, the Emperor occupied the

CLIFFORD'S INN

itself into the Thames a little to the east of Blackfriars Bridge. To our left, looking northward, we see the great but ugly viaduct which conveys the roadway of Holborn to Newgate, and may recall the fact

OLD BUILDINGS IN LINCOLN'S INN

that John Bunyan died in a house which stood just where the eastern piers of the Bridge stand now. The river was first covered over, between Holborn Bridge and Fleet Bridge, in 1737, when the Stocks

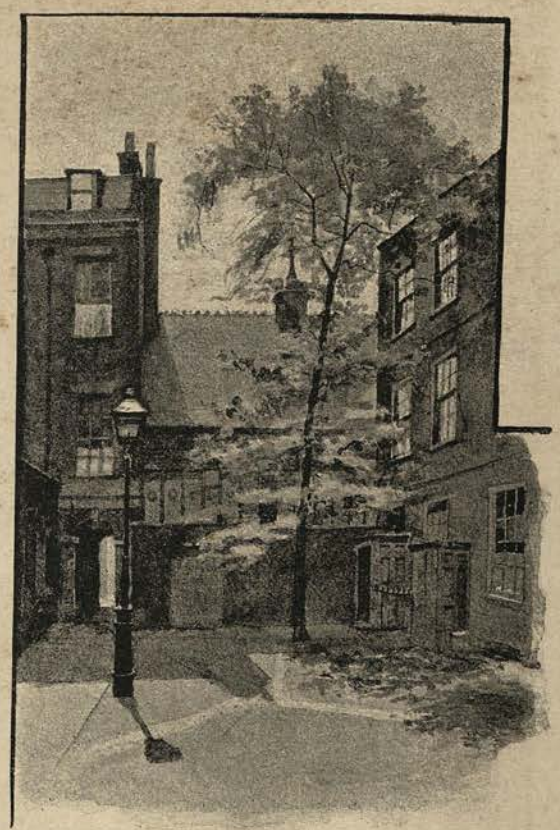
LEADENHALL MARKET

BARNARD'S INN

Market was removed from where the Mansion House stands now. In 1828 it was removed a little to the westward, and the roadway of Farringdon Street was made to Blackfriars Bridge. Mr. Hawkins dates the construction of the Fleet Bridge in 1228, by which time St. Bride's Church was already in existence. This date would also answer to the opening of Ludgate, which cannot have been much earlier. As we ascend Ludgate Hill we can observe the exact place where the gate stood, marked for us by the Old Bailey. After 1276 the city wall, instead of

BARNARD'S INN

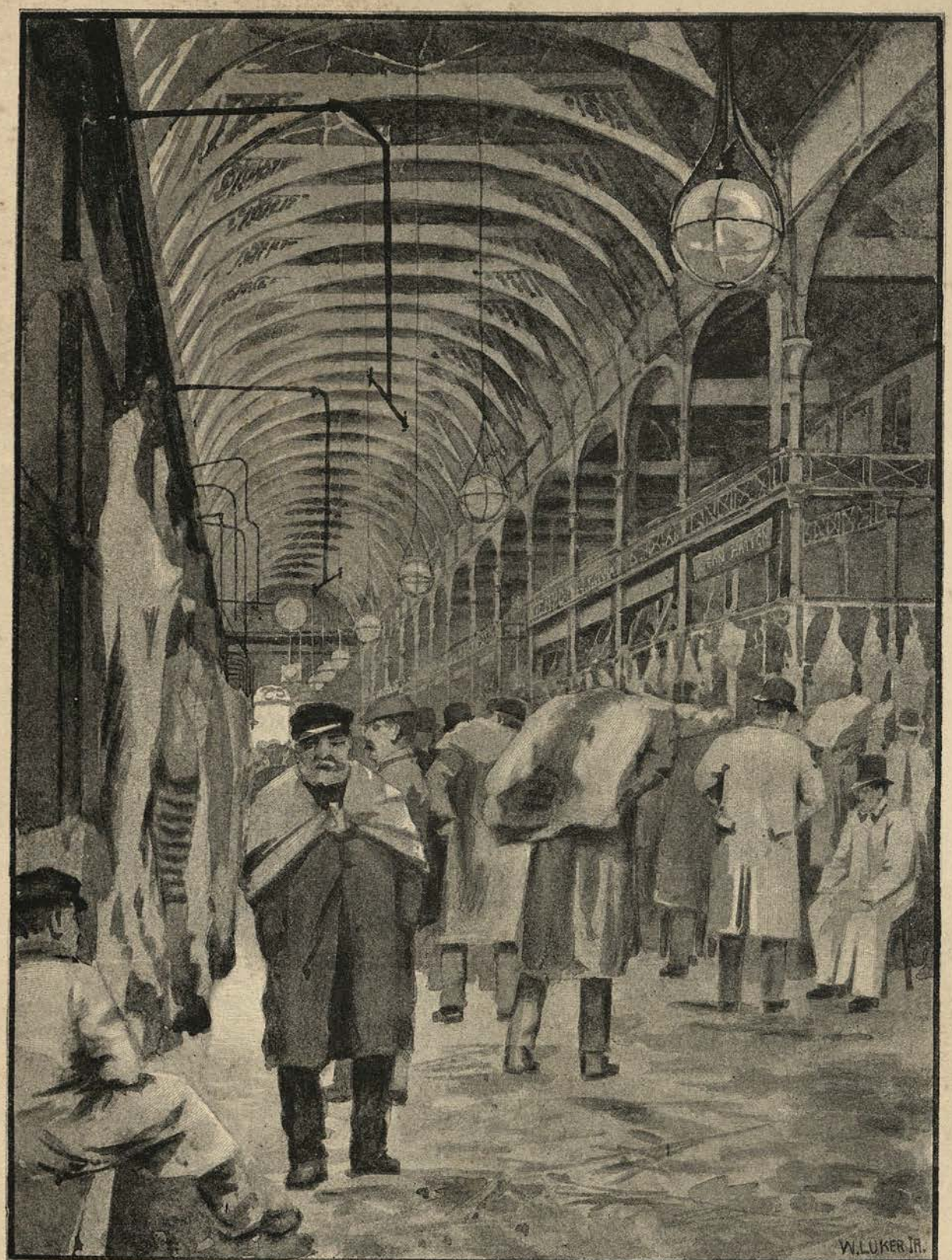
running direct from this spot to the river, turned here to the westward and south again at the foot of the hill, so as to include the house of the Dominican Friars, whose popular name still lingers round their old precinct. The whole aspect of this region has been greatly changed of late years, the Thames Embankment having left the streets high and dry which were once on the banks. Water Lane is far indeed from the water's edge.



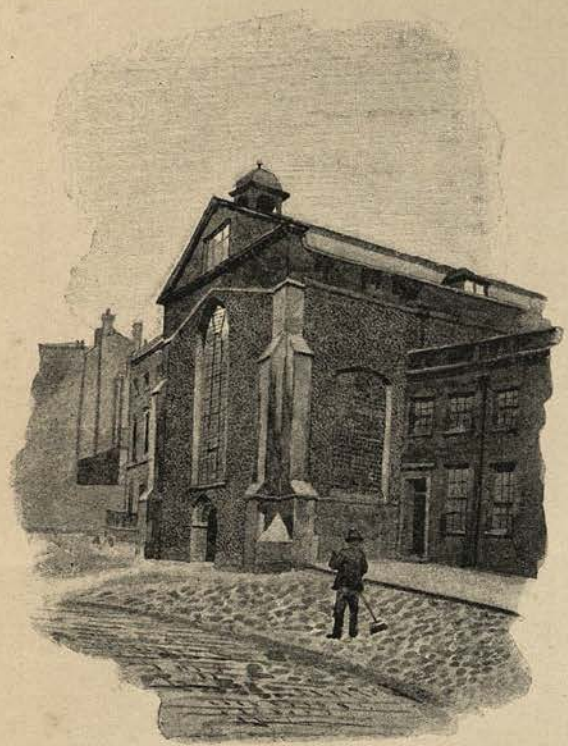
BARNARD'S INN

Looking back along the Embankment we see two fine buildings close at hand, the City of London School, designed by Messrs. Davis and Emanuel, and built by Messrs. John Mowlem and Co.; and Sion College, removed from London Wall, designed in a handsome and suitable Perpendicular style in red brick with stone dressings, by Sir Arthur Blomfield, A.R.A.,

STAIRCASE IN THE CHARTERHOUSE



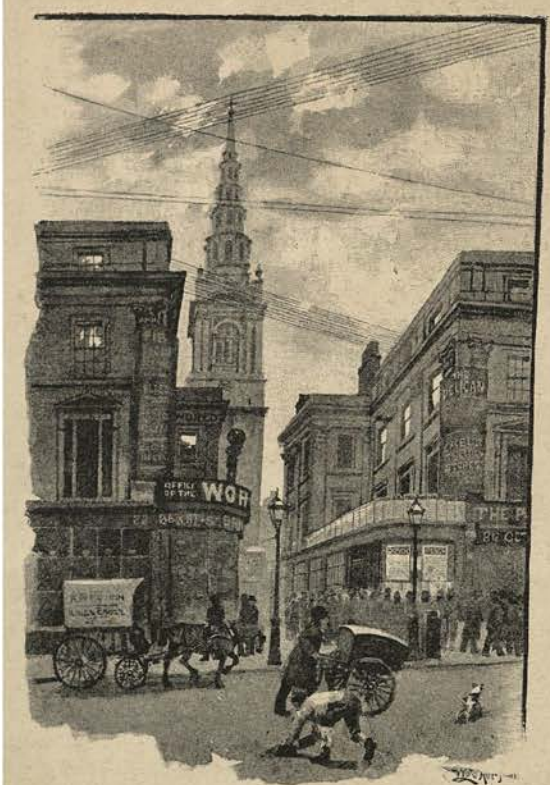
THE METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, SMITHFIELD



CHAPEL OF THE ROLLS

the builder being Mr. J. T. Chappell. The new street from the Embankment, appropriately called after the Queen, forms a magnificent approach to London within the walls. It is a pity that the first buildings which meet the eye, though large and imposing enough, are not beautiful; but the proverb, "Handsome is that handsome does," may be applied to the *Times* Office, which exactly occupies the precincts of the Friars, and to its great neighbour, the house of the Bible Society. To the right, nearer the river, was Baynard's Castle, a great house built in 1428 by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and called after the name of the ward, which itself was derived from a tower on the old wall, which had belonged to the Baynard family, and was pulled down by the Dominicans to make way for their church.

THE RECORD OFFICE



SOME WELL-KNOWN PUBLISHING OFFICES, FLEET STREET

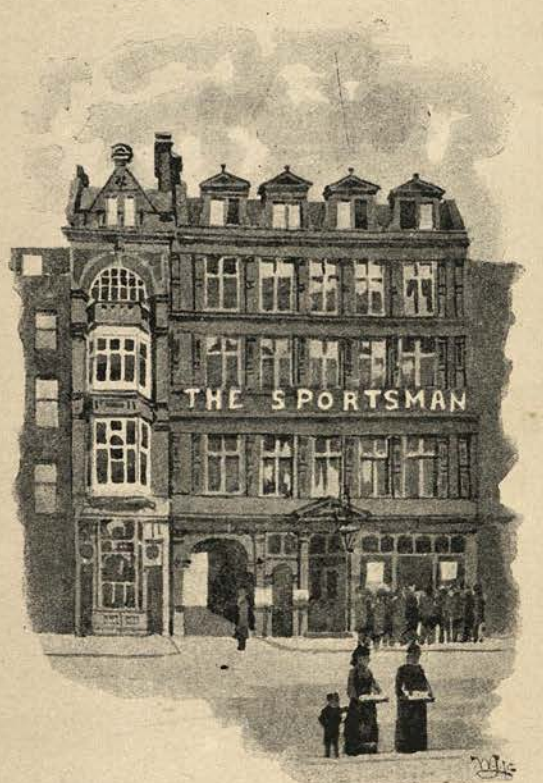
acted, having taken refuge in the sanctuary which also existed here, from the persecutions of the city magistrates, who feared, during the prevalence of the plague, to have large assemblies of people brought together. In the seventeenth century Blackfriars seems to have been a favourite resort of artists, and we find Isaac Oliver, the miniaturist, Cornelius Jansen, and Anthony Vandyck, all

This tower was a long way to westward of the house, which, as is well known, was the residence of the mother of Edward IV and Richard III, and is several times mentioned by Shakespeare, who must have often seen it. It was still standing when the great dramatist had a share in the theatre Burbage adapted from some of the buildings of the priory. Playhouse Yard, part of the *Times* Office, still marks the place where the Earl of Leicester's servants, as they were called,

INNER TEMPLE HALL

QUEEN VICTORIA STREET

STANDARD OFFICES



SPORTSMAN OFFICES

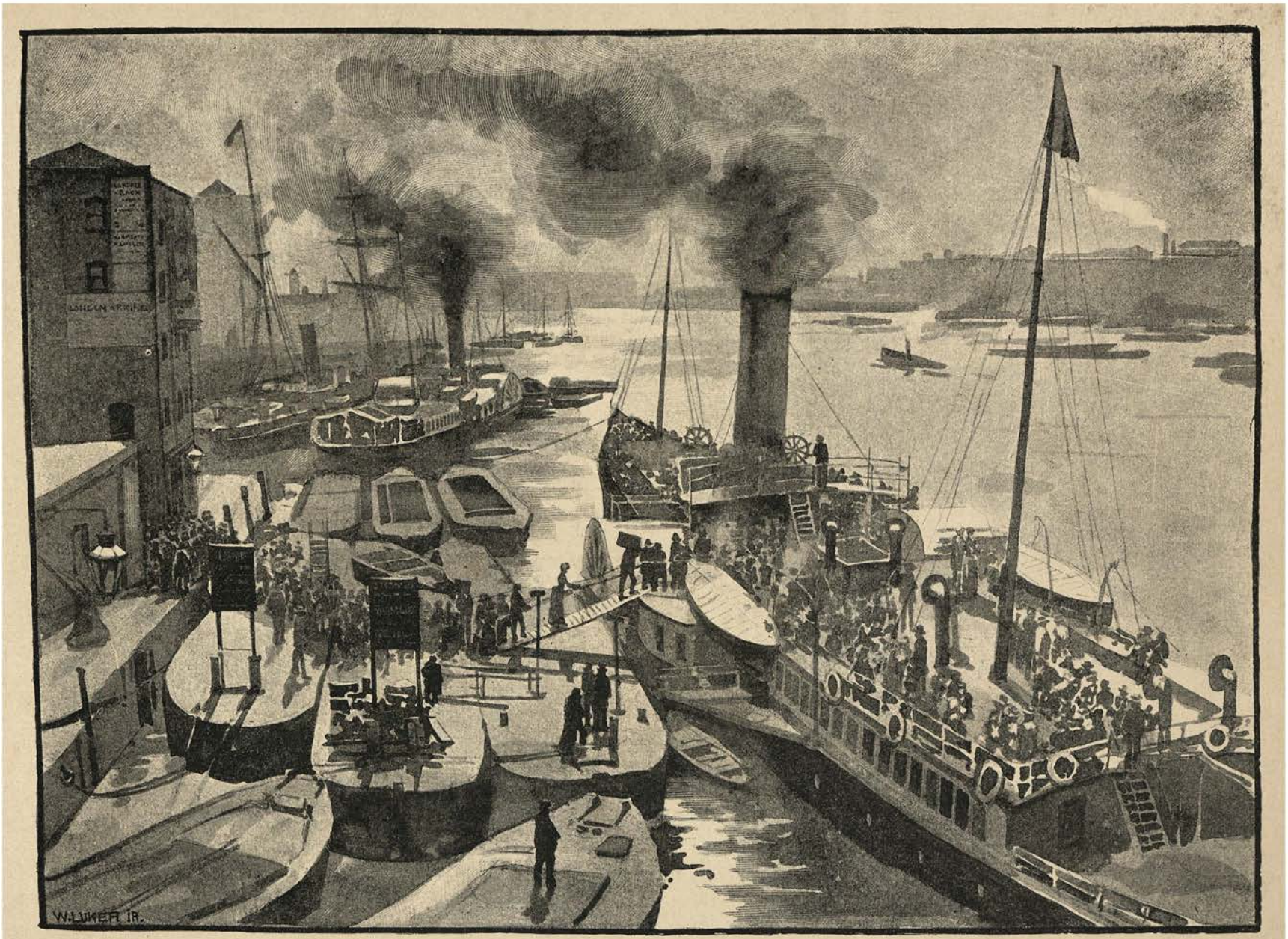
living here between 1617 and 1641. The church of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, has been handed over to a Welsh congregation. It is extremely picturesque with its red brick and heavy roof. Here some of the old kings of arms from the Heralds' College over the way were buried, and Inigo Jones, the great architect, lies among them. The College is in a plain but pleasing "Queen Anne" style, and was rebuilt after the Great Fire on the site of Derby House, the residence of the Lady Margaret, the mother of Henry VII. From this point Queen Victoria Street consists wholly of new buildings, with the exception of the Church of St. Mary Aldermary, of which I have spoken in

DAILY TELEGRAPH OFFICES

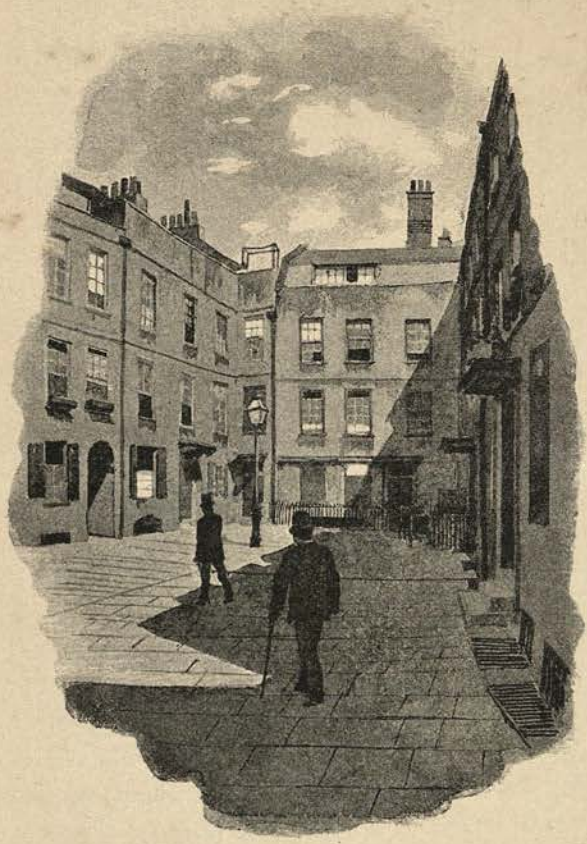
another chapter. The architecture of all these new buildings is by no means such as we shall wish our posterity to point to as that of

GOUGH SQUARE

the Victorian Age, but the house of the Safe Deposit Company has some redeeming features. We now find ourselves close to the Poultry end of Cheapside, and to the Mansion House. Opposite is Sir William



SHIPPING: FROM LONDON BRIDGE



JOHNSON'S COURT, GOUGH SQUARE

Tite's splendid Royal Exchange, the portico of which would be an ornament to any city.

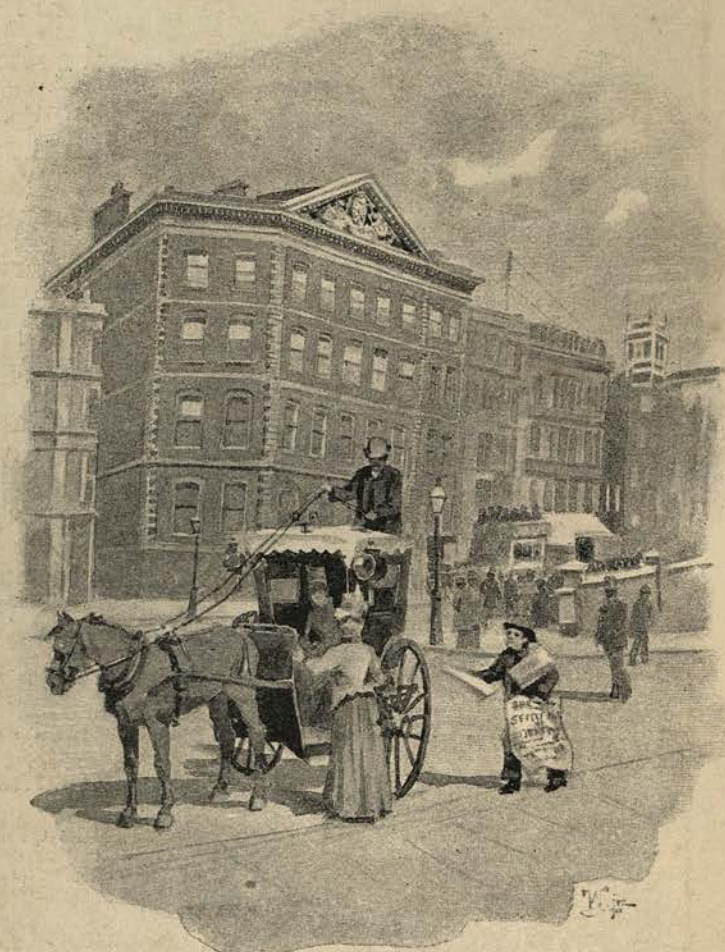
Of the Bank of England on the left, and of Lombard Street on the right, I have already spoken, as well as of the two churches in Cornhill and the two in Leadenhall Street. Behind the Bank in Tokenhouse Yard is the Mart, where landed and other estates are sold by auction. Some fine new buildings are on the site of the old East India Office, though the front in the street is heavy and poor; but in Fenchurch Avenue observe No. 5 (Messrs. Anderson, Anderson, and Co.), a good design by Mr. J. J. Stevenson, and farther on a costly granite front, Billiter Square Buildings, which only wants good proportions to be one of the most splendid fronts in London. Polished granite in tier after tier of columns and windows ought to look fine, but the effect is singularly unsatisfactory. The best front in Cornhill is probably that of No. 28, the office of the Scottish Widows' Fund. In Leadenhall Street several examples of ornament at-

JOHNSON'S COURT, GOUGH SQUARE

NO. 28 CORNHILL

as New Zealand Chambers, is one of Mr. Norman Shaw's few city works, and deserves all the praise that has been lavished upon it.

We soon reach Aldgate, and perhaps there is no part of the city on which time has laid so heavy a hand. The Priory has absolutely disappeared, though down to a late period vaults and other remains were distempting in vain to redeem a poor design, may be seen; but the short street called after Whittington, which leads into the Market, contains at least one fair front. The offices of the "P. & O.," the pioneer of all the eastward-sailing mail lines, are in Leadenhall Street, but cannot be admired by any one with an eye for correct architecture. They are, however, imposing and convenient. The large house on the south side of Leadenhall Street, known



TIMES OFFICE

LONDON BRIDGE—GOING ACROSS

AUCTION MART, TOKENHOUSE YARD

covered from time to time. Duke's Place marks that part of the site on which the Prior's house stood when it was inhabited by the Duke

PRINTING THE TIMES NEWSPAPER

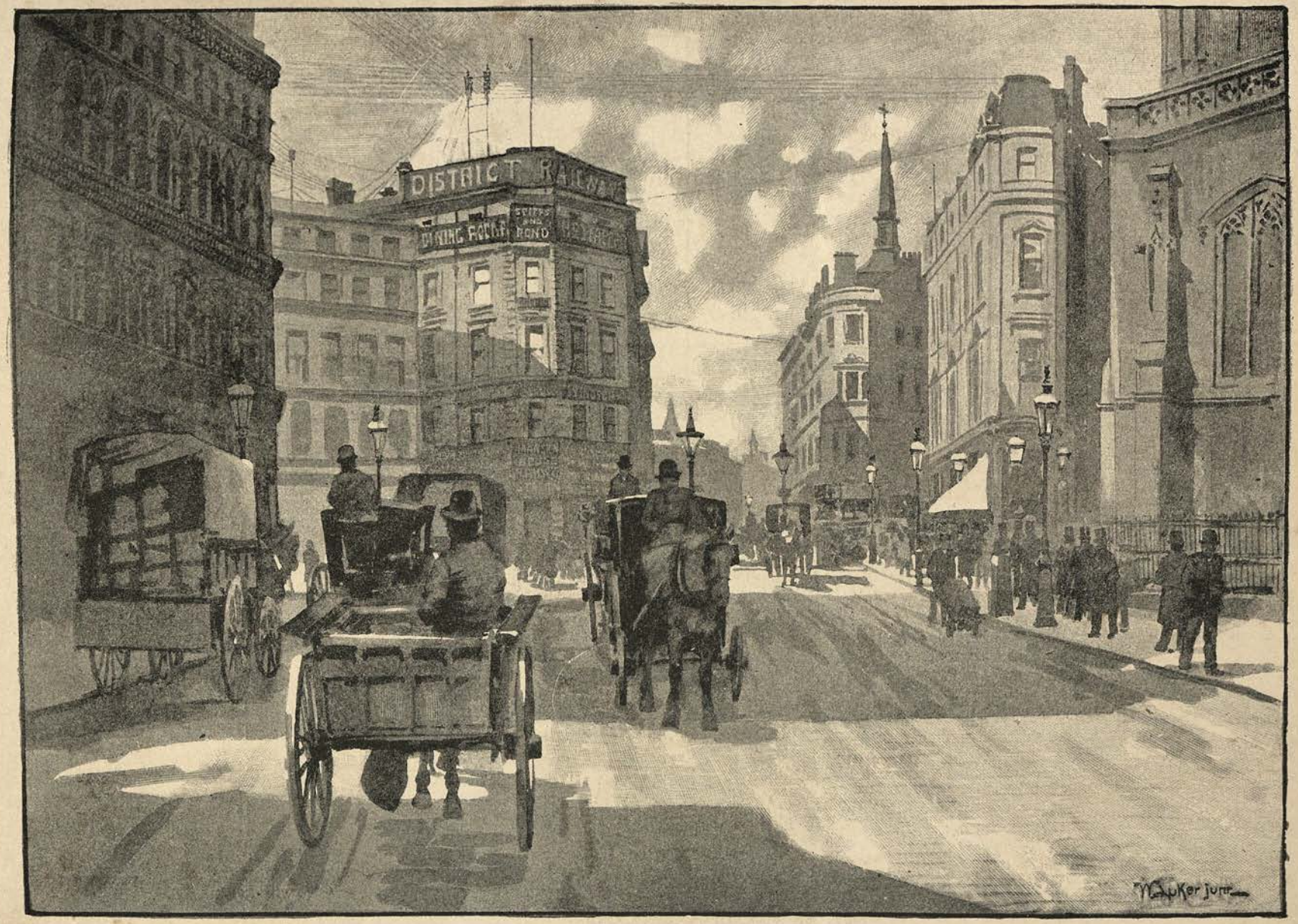
ST. BENET'S CHURCH, PAUL'S WHARF

jurisdiction. Strange to say, Cunningham, generally so careful, was deceived by these claims, not reflecting that the church of the Priory must have been within the walls, and close to that of St. Katherine Cree. This may represent, however, the chapel of the Poor Clares, whose common name of Minoresses is commemorated in that of the street. There are some good monu-

of Norfolk. This is now the Jewry of modern London, and the headquarters of the fruit trade.

We need not go much farther eastward in this direction. A curious old church, Holy Trinity, Minories, was built in 1706. It long claimed to represent the church of the Priory, and to have in consequence certain privileges, as well as to be without the city

NO. 5 FENCHURCH AVENUE,
MESSRS. ANDERSON, ANDERSON, AND CO.'S OFFICES
(ORIENT LINE OF ROYAL MAIL STEAMERS)



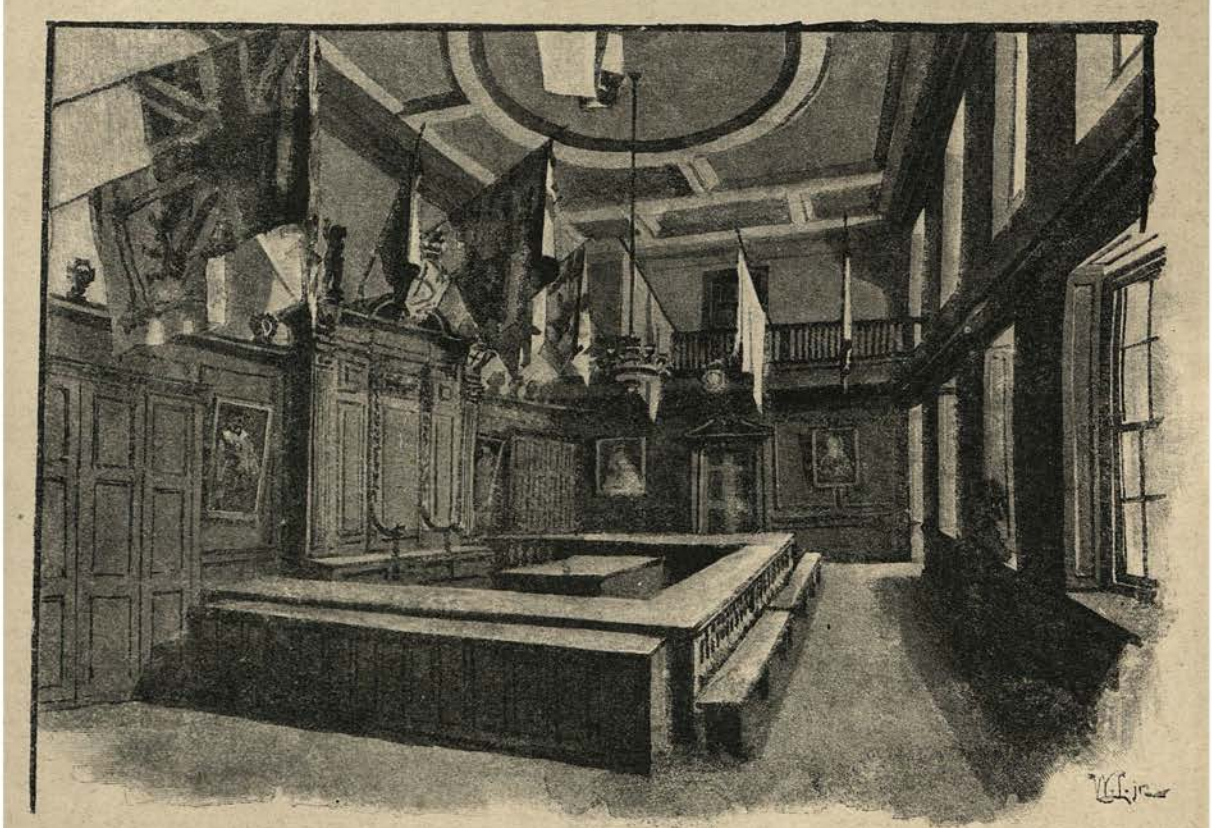
THE MANSION HOUSE STATION, DISTRICT RAILWAY, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET

ments within. A few steps farther and we are on Tower Hill. Another interesting walk through the city may be begun at the church of St. Saviour in Southwark. The church has been terribly mauled by restorers and its nave rebuilt in the mock-Gothic of fifty years ago, while the roadway to London Bridge lies over the site of one of the eastern chapels. Still a visit to the interior is full of interest, and many of the monuments, especially that of Gower, are worth seeing. A movement is on foot for the re-restoration of the nave.

It will be remembered that the Roman Bridge stood some way to the eastward, where the Thames is most narrow. In fact, from St. Olave's Church in Tooley Street to Botolph's Wharf on the north side, the distance is less than between the banks at any other point up the river till we get beyond Chelsea. This was the spot naturally chosen for the bridge by the Romans, but no particulars have come down to us as to its form or appearance. We may assume that it consisted of a series of

UPPER THAMES STREET

heavy piers supporting a timber footway. If this was the bridge that kept Cnut at bay, it must have been strongly fortified, but how we can only conjecture. In fact, all we know is that it must have been included in King Alfred's scheme of repair in 886, and it certainly was in existence in the reign of Alfred's descendant, Eadgar, less than a hundred years later, because it is mentioned in a contemporary chronicle as the place of execution of an unhappy woman accused of witchcraft. This bridge subsisted till the middle of the twelfth century, when it had become dilapidated and unfit for traffic. Peter, the curate of St. Mary Colechurch in Cheap, who was the great engineer of the day, repaired or rebuilt it in 1163 of elm wood, but evidently looked upon this as merely a temporary structure, and soon set about the work of an entirely new bridge a few yards higher up the stream. This in the



COUNCIL CHAMBER OF THE COLLEGE OF ARMS

CANNON STREET STATION—NIGHT

Middle Ages was the great pride of the citizens. It was covered with houses, as I have already said, and its vast height, its gay shops, the water-wheels, and the magnificence of the chapel and of some other buildings, made "As fine as London Bridge" into a proverb. Everybody of any sensibility must have sympathised with Baldwin, the haberdasher, who could not sleep in the country for want of the noise of the rushing waters to which he was accustomed on London Bridge, where he had been born and had lived for seventy years. In 1757, when wheeled vehicles became more and more common and necessary, the houses were removed, and £100,000 were spent on repairs and improvements. Nevertheless, as time went on, the need of a wholly new bridge became apparent, if only on account of the obstruction to the river navigation made by the great piers and the numerous consequent accidents. In 1823 power was obtained from Parliament. The first pile of the present bridge, as designed by Rennie, was driven in March 1824, and the whole structure

WATLING STREET

OFFICES OF PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION CO. LEADENHALL STREET

was completed in 1831. The expenses were about a million and a half, but two-thirds of that sum were spent on the approaches. A fine new street, named in honour of King William IV, who opened the new bridge among the early acts of his short reign, was constructed to reach to the junction of Gracechurch Street and Cannon Street; and the old route by Fish Street Hill and past the Monument was abandoned. It may be worth while to mention here that about 120,000 vehicles cross the bridge in a week; but it is hoped that the new Tower Bridge, now in process of construction, may have a powerful effect in diminishing the traffic.

The Monument Station of the underground railway is not far from Wren's handsome pillar, and, indeed, the railway itself is too near it, and, no doubt, causes the vibration which a year or two ago brought down

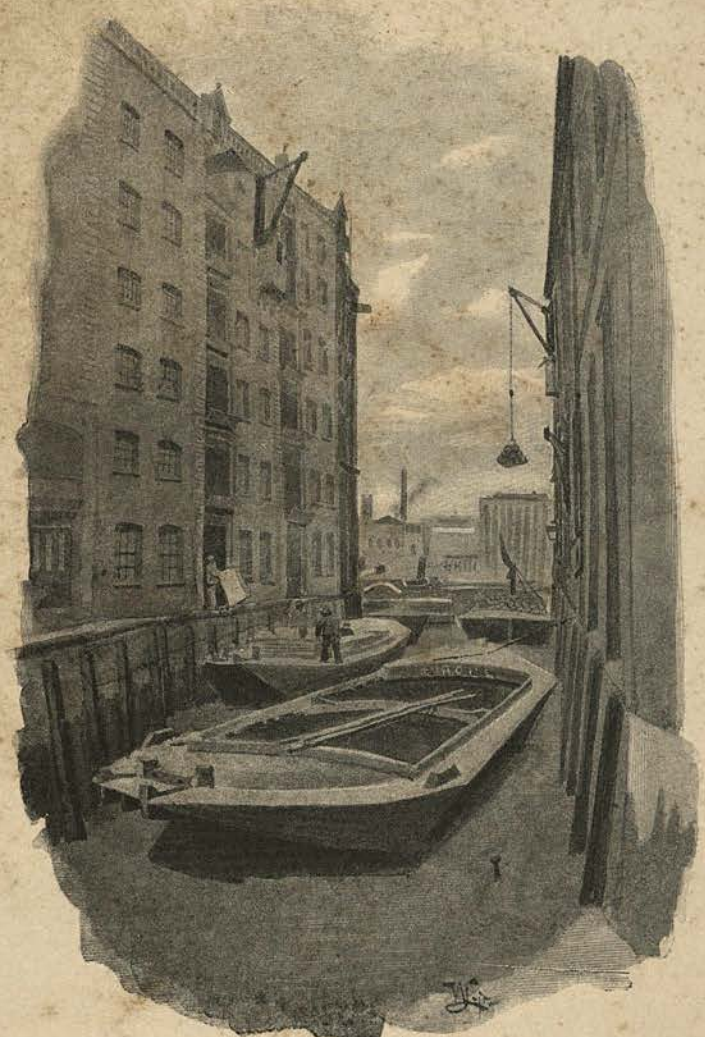
JERUSALEM CHAMBERS, CORNHILL

LIVERPOOL STREET STATION

some pieces of stone from the platform at the top. It was erected, as everybody knows, to commemorate the Great Fire of 1666; or, to speak more strictly, to commemorate the rebuilding of the city in an incredibly short space of time after that prodigious calamity. Wren's first sketch represents an unfluted column of the Tuscan-Doric order, of which he was

NEW ZEALAND CHAMBERS, LEADENHALL STREET

so fond. It was to have flames springing out all over it, presumably of gilt bronze. On the top was to be an immense vase, from which also flames were to rise, and on the top of all was to be a phœnix, with outspread wings. Eventually, however, the design was changed. A fluted column was substituted without flames, and it was decided to put a statue of Charles II on the top.



UNLOADING BARGES AT A CITY WHARF

THE BALTIC, THREADNEEDLE STREET

A vase was, however, eventually adopted, but the phœnix was omitted, as Wren prudently feared the sail the spread wings would carry in a high wind. Six years were spent in raising the Monument to its height of 202 feet, and it was at length finished in 1677. There was great difficulty in finding sufficiently good stone, a difficulty illustrated by the accident above mentioned. The inscription was an important consideration, and some of the best scholars of the day tried their hands at it. Dr. Gale, the Dean of York, was successful. His lines contain some very grandiloquent references to the King, who was represented in an accompanying relief in Roman armour, bringing prosperity and plenty to a mourning city, with scaffoldings in the background, and hodmen undeterred from their work by the aspect of a very mild and smiling lion which accompanies the King. When the inscription had been in its place some four years, the Popish Plot Agitation broke out, and in 1681 an inscription in Latin was made, as well as a wholly new inscrip-

tion in English; in both there were references to the "treachery and malice of the Popish faction." Naturally this inscription disappeared in the reign of James II, but it was renewed at the coming of William and Mary, and served Pope for a simile in one of his poems—

> Where London's column pointing to the skies,
> Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies.

This inscription was only finally erased in 1831.

The Monument is unquestionably a fine work of art. The railing at the top was by Wren's direction "made of substantiall, well forged worke, there being noe need at that distance of filed work." Some five or six people threw themselves from the gallery. In 1842, as Cunningham drily observes, "this kind of death becoming popular, it was deemed advisable to encage and disfigure the Monument as we now see it."

SALEROOM IN THE BALTIC

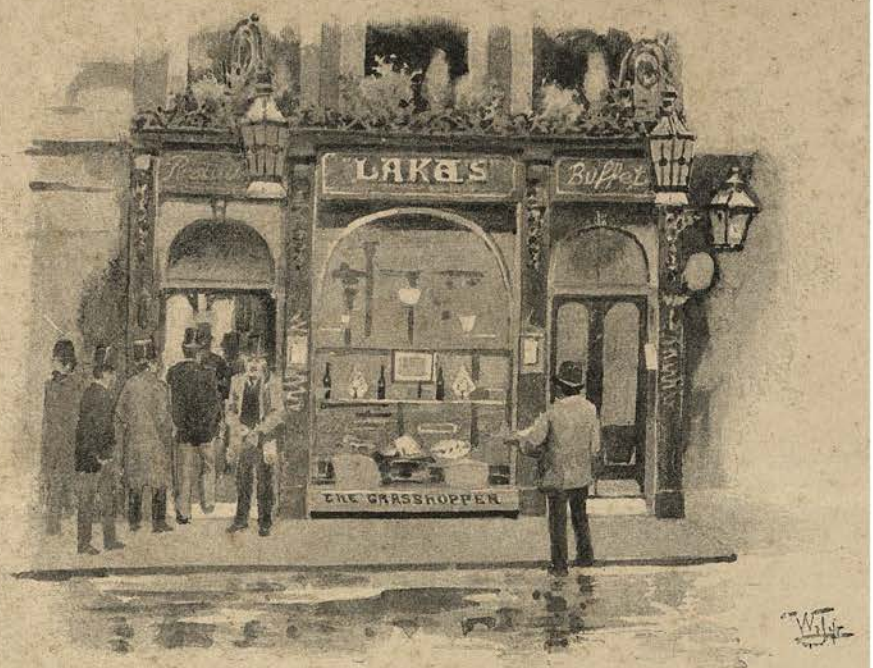
MOORGATE STREET, SHOWING OFFICES OF THE ROYAL MAIL STEAM PACKET COMPANY

There is little of interest in Gracechurch Street, but the old Grasshopper Tavern still survives—a famous coaching house in its day—at the corner of Bell Yard. I have already traced the origin of Leadenhall Market to Eastcheap. As we cross to Bishopsgate Street, let us not neglect to look at the beautifully proportioned east end of St. Peter's Church, which in its good taste and symmetry is in such singular contrast with the gaudy monstrosities of architecture by which it is surrounded. Crosby Hall on our right is well known to all Londoners, and needs no description here; but the visitor who likes old architecture should penetrate into the courts and alleys which surround it, as they contain good specimens of all kinds. Near the corner of Threadneedle Street is the Baltic, a great meeting place for merchants. There have been great destructions wrought in Bishopsgate of late years, and hardly an old house remains, one, the Sir Paul Pindar, being at the extremity of our walk. In Moorgate Street are the offices of the

THE MONUMENT

Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, a plain, useful-looking building.

The brief survey here attempted of some of the great thoroughfares of the city leaves an impression of sadness on the mind. London has been practically rebuilt since the beginning of the present reign, yet how little is there of good architecture to be seen anywhere. Some of the new houses would be a disgrace to any city. The designs of costly structures, covered with coloured marbles and polished granite, are often unworthy of a gin palace. The great Gothic revival is chiefly to blame for this melancholy state of things. Architects know no-

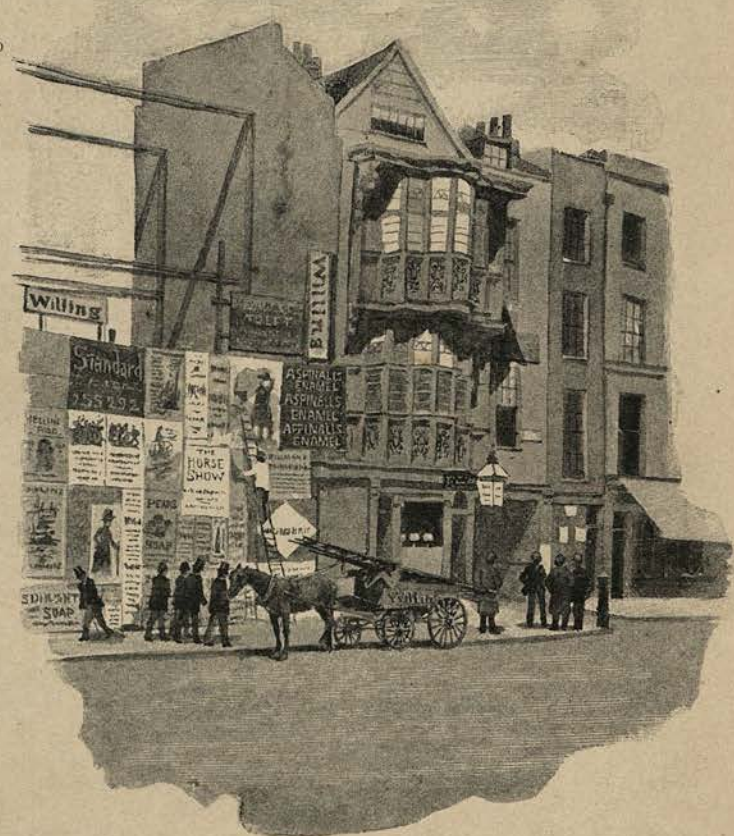


THE OLD GRASSHOPPER CHOP-HOUSE IN GRACECHURCH STREET

MONUMENT YARD, CARRYING FRUIT

SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSE, BISHOPSGATE STREET
HEAD OFFICES OF THE UNION STEAMSHIP CO., LIMITED

thing and care less about proportion, and think they have done something fine when they have imported a design bodily from abroad, as, for instance, in a new india-rubber warehouse in Cheapside, which looks as if it had stepped across from Bruges, or the front of a Venetian palazzo which faces the Bank of England in Lothbury. Everywhere money has been lavished, brains have been spared. The maximum of ornament is associated with the minimum of design, and the chief modern buildings of the city are much more remarkable for their cost than for their beauty. This is but a melancholy conclusion to be forced upon us; but if any one doubts its correctness let him spend a few hours in examining Kent's book on Inigo Jones or Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and let him then



PAUL PINDAR'S INN, BISHOPSGATE STREET

take a turn in the city. If he finds a single design less than thirty years old worthy of a place in the volumes I have named, he will have succeeded where, after diligent search and inquiry, I have utterly failed. I have been able to mention with unqualified commendation but two or three buildings in all, and they belong to a modern style so unusual in city architecture that they only serve to make the examples around them more distressing.

"SHINE YER BOOTS"

BROAD STREET

LONDON BRIDGE, SOUTH

ELECTRIC RAILWAY STATION (CITY AND SOUTH LONDON),
KING WILLIAM STREET

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